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THE

TRVE TRAVELS, e

ADVENTVRES

AND

OBSERVATIONS

OF

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH,

IN

Europe, Asia, Africke, and America:

BEGINNING

ABOUT THE YEERS 1593, AND CONTINUED
TO THIS PRESENT 1629.

V. 1

VOL. I.

FROM THE LONDON EDITION OF 1629.

RICHMOND:
Republiſhed at the Franklin Preſs.
William W. Gray, Printer
1819.

1705032

TO THE

PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA,

This History of the Settlement of the Colony;
and Narrative of the Adventures of one of the
most accomplished Hero's of the World;
Is respectfully dedicated, by the
PUBLISHER.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE

WILLIAM

EARLE OF PEMBROKE,

Lord Steward of his Majesties most Honourable Household.

ROBERT

EARLE OF LINDSAY,

Great Chamberlaine of England.

HENRIE

LORD HUNSDON, VISCOUNT ROCHFORD, EARLE OF DOVER.

And all your Honourable friends and Well-wishers.

MY LORDS:

SIR *Robert Cotton*, that most learned Treasurer of Antiquitie, having by perusall of my generall Historie, and others, found that I had likewise undergone divers other as hard hazards in the other parts of the world, requested me to fix the whole course of my passages in a booke by it selfe, whose noble desire I could not but in part satisfie; the rather, because they have acted my fatal Tragedies upon the Stage, and racked my Relations at their pleasure. To prevent therefore all future misprisions, I have compiled this true discourse. Envie hath taxed me to have writ too much, and done too little; but that such should know, how little I esteeme them, I have writ this, more for the satisfaction of my friends, and all generous and well disposed Readers: To speake only of my selfe were intolerable ingratitude; because, having had so many co-partners with me: I cannot make a Monument for my self, and leave them unburied in the fields, whose lives begot me the title of a Soldier; for as they were companions with me in my dangers, so shall they be partakers with me in this Tombe.

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THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

For my *Sea Grammar* (caused to bee printed by my worthy friend, Sir *Samuel Saltonstall*) hath found such good entertainment abroad, that I have beene importuned by many noble persons, to let this also passe the Presse. Many of the most eminent Warriers, and others, what their swords did, their penns writ: Though I bee never so much their inferiour, yet I hold it no great errour, to follow good examples; nor repine at them, will doe the like.

And now my most Honourable good Lords, I know not to whom I may better present it, than to your Lordships, whose friendships, as I conceive, are as much to each others, as my duty is to you all; and because you are acquainted both with my endeavours, and writings, I doubt not but your honours will as well accept of this, as of the rest, and Patronize it under the shadow of your most noble vertues, which I am ever bound in all duty to reverence, and under which I hope to have shelter, against all stormes that dare threaten.

Your Honours to be commanded,

IOHN SMITH.

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TO MY WORTHY FRIEND,

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

Two greatest Shires of *England* did thee beare,
Renowned *Yorkshire*, Gaunt-stild *Lancashire;*
But what's all this? even Earth, Sea, Heaven above,
Tragabigzanda Callamata's love,
Deare *Pocahontas*, Madam *Shanoi's* too,
Who did what love with modesty could doe.
Record thy worth, thy birth, which as I live,
Even in thy reading such choice solace give,
As I could wish, (such wishes would doe well)
Many such *Smiths* in this our *Israel.*

R. BRATHWAIT.

TO MY NOBLE BROTHER AND FRIEND.

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

Thou haste a course full of honour runne,
Envy may snarle, as dogges against the Sunne
May barke, not bite: for what deservedly
With thy lifes danger, valour, pollicy,
Quaint warlike stratagems, ability
And judgment, thou hast got, fame sets so high
Detraction cannot reach: thy worth shall stand
A patterne to succeeding ages, and
Cloth'd in thy owne lines, ever shall adde grace,
Vnto thy native country and thy race;
And when dissolv'd, laid in thy mother's wombe:
These, *Cæsar*-like, *Smith's* Epitaph and tombe.

ANTHONY FEREBY.

TO HIS VALIANT AND DESERVING FRIEND,

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

Mongst *Frenchmen, Spanyards, Hungars, Tartars, Turks.*
And wilde *Virginians* too, this tells thy works:
Now some will aske, what benefit? what gaine?
Is added to thy store for all this paine?
Th' art then content to say, content is all,
Th' ast got content for perils, paine and thrall;
Tis lost to looke for more: for few men now
Regard Wit, Learning, Valour; but allow
The quintessence of praise to him that can
Number his owne got gold, and riches, than
Th' art Valiant, Learned, Wise; *Pauls* counsell will,
Admire thy merits, magnifie thy skill.
The last of thine to which I set my hand
Was a *Sea Grammar;* this by Sea and Land,
Serves us for imitation: I know none,
That like thy selfe hast come, and runne, and gone,
To such praise-worthy actions: bee't approu'd,
Th' ast well deserv'd of best men to be lou'd:
If *France, or Spaine, or* any forren soile
Could claime thee theirs, for these thy paines and toile,
Th' adst got reward and honour. now adayes,
What our owne natives doe, we seldome praise.
Good men will yeeld thee praise: then sleight the rest;
Tis best praise-worthy to have pleas'd the best.

Tuissimus ED. IORDEN.

TO MY WORTHY FRIEND,

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

Deare noble Captaine, who by Sea and Land,
To act the earnest of thy name hast hand
And heart; who canst with skill design the Fort,
The Leaguer, Harbour, City, Shore, and Port:
Whose sword and pen in bold, ruffe, Martiall, wise,
Put forth to try and beare away the prize,
From *Cæsar* and *Blaize Monluc:* Can it be,
That Men alone in *Gonnah* fortune see
Thy worth advanc'd? no wonder since our age,
Is now at large a Bedlem or a Stage.

RICH. IAMES.

TO HIS WORTHY FRIEND,

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

Thou that hast had a spirit to flie like thunder,
Without thy Countries charge through those strange dangers,
Doth make my muse amaz'd, and more to wonder,
That thy deserts should shared be by strangers,
And thou neglected; (ah miracle!) most lamented,
At thy great patience thus to rest contented.

For none can truly say thou didst deceive,
Thy Soldiers, Sailers, Merchants, nor thy friends,
But all from thee a true account receive;
Yet nought to thee all these thy vertues brings;
Is none so noble to advance thy merit,
If any be, let him thy praise inherit.

MA. HAWKINS.

* * *

TO MY WORTHY FRIEND,

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

To combate with three Turks in single du'le,
Before two Armies, who the like hath done?
Slaine thy great Iailor; found a common weale
In faire *America*; where thou hast wonne
No lesse renowne amongst their Savage Kings,
Than Turkish warres, that thus thy honour sings.

Could not those tyrants daunt thy matchlesse spirit,
Nor all the cruelty of envies spight?
Will not thy Country yet reward thy merit,
Nor in thy acts and writings take delight?
Which here in so few sheets doth more expresse
Than volumes great, this is thy happinesse.

RICHARD MEADE.

B

TO MY WELL DESERVING FRIEND,

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

Thou hast no need to covet new applause,
Nor doe I thinke vaine-glory moves thee to it;
But since it is thy will (though without cause)
To move a needlesse thing, yet will I doe it.
Doe it in briefe I will, or else I doe the wrong,
And say, read or'e Captaine *Smiths* former song;
His first then will invite thee to his latter:
Reader 'tis true; I am not brib'd to flatter.

EDW. INGHAM.

TO HIS APPROVED FRIEND, THE AUTHOR;

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

The old *Greeke Beard*, counts him the onely man,
Who knows strange Countries, like his *Ithacan*,
And wise, as valiant, by his observation,
Can tell the severall customes of each Nation:
All these are met in thee, who will not then
Repute thee in the ranke of worthiest men?

To th' Westerne world to former times unknowne,
Thy active spirit hath thy valour shewne:
The *Turks* and *Tartars* both can testifie,
Thee t' have deserv'd a Captaines dignity;
But verse thou need'st not to express thy worth,
Thy acts, this booke doe plainly set it forth.

M. CARTNER.

TO THE VALOUROUS AND TRULY-VERTUOUS SOULDIER,

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

No [*]*Faith in Campe?* tis false: see pious *Smith*
Hath brought stragling Astræa backe, and with
An all outdaring spirit made *Valour* stand
Vpheld by *Vertue* in bold *Mars* his land:
If *Valourous*, be praise; how great's his Name?
Whose Valour *joyned* with *Vertue* laud's his *Fame*.
T'was *Homers* boast of wise *Laertes* sonne,
[†]Well-read in men and Cities: than thou none
(Great *Smith*) of these can more true tales rehearse;
What want thy praises then, but *Homers* verse?

Jn Smithum Distichon.

Quisque suæ sortis [‡]Faber: an Faber exstitit unquam
Te (Smithe) fortunæ verior usque suæ?

I. C.
C. P.

TO HIS NOBLE FRIEND,

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

To see bright honour sparkled all in gore,
Would steele a spirit that ne're fought before:
And that's the height of Fame, when our best bloud,
Is nobly spilt in actions great and good:
So thou hast taught the world to purchase Fame,
Rearing thy story on a glorious frame,
And such foundation doth thy merits make it,
As all detractions rage shall never shake it;
Thy actions crowne themselves, and thy owne pen,
Gives them the best and truest Epiphonem.

BRIAN O ROVRKE.

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[*] *Nulla fides pietasque viris, qui castra sequuntur.*

[†] Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἰδεν ἄστεα, και νὸον εγνω. *Hom. Odyss. α.*

[‡] *Appius.*

TO HIS TRULY DESERVING FRIEND,

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

CAN one please all? there's none from *Censure* free,
To looke for't then it were absurd in thee;
It's easie worke to censure sweetest Layes,
Where *Ignorance* is *Iudge* thou'd have no praise:
Wisdom I know will mildly judge of all,
Envious hearts, tongues, pennes, are dippt in Gall.
Proud malignant times will you now bring forth
Monsters at least to snarle at others worth;
O doe not so, but wisely looke on him
That wrought such *Honours* for his *Countries King:*
Of *Turks* and *Tartars* thou hast wonne the field,
The great *Bashaw* his *Courage* thou hast quel'd;
In the *Hungarian warre* thou'st shewd thy Arts,
Prou'd thy *Selfe* a *Souldier* true in all parts:
Thy *Armes* are deckt with that thy *Sword* hath wonne,
Which mallice can't out-weare till day be done:
For three proud *Turks* in single fight thou'st slue,
Their Heads *adorne* thy *Armes*, for witnesse true;
Let *Mars* and *Neptune* both with *Pregnant* wit,
Extoll thy due deserts, Ile pray for it.

SALO. TANNER.

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ADVENTVRES,
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OBSERVATIONS
OF
CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH,
IN
Europe, Asia, Africke, and America:

Beginning about the yeere 1593, *and continued*
to this present 1629.

CHAP. I.

His Birth; Apprentiship; Going into France; *His beginning with ten shillings and three pence; His Service in* Netherlands; *His bad passage into* Scotland; *His returne to* Willoughby; *And how he lived in the Woods.*

He was borne in *Willoughby* in *Lincolne-shire*, and a Scholler in the two Free-schooles of *Alford* and *Louth*. His father anciently descended from the ancient *Smiths* of *Crudley* in *Lancashire;* his mother from the *Rickands* at great *Heck* in *York-shire*. His parents dying when he was about thirteene yeeres of age, left him a competent means, which hee not being capable to manage, little regarded; his minde being even then set upon brave adventures, sould his Satchell, bookes, and all he had, intending secretly to get to Sea, but that his fathers death stayed him. But now the Guardians of his estate more regarding it than him, he had libertie enough, though

no meanes, to get beyond the Sea. About the age of fifteene yeeres hee was bound an Apprentice to Mr. *Thomas Sendall* of *Linne*, the greatest Merchant of all those parts; but because hee would not presently send him to Sea, he never saw his master in eight yeeres after. At last he found meanes to attend Mr. *Perigrine Barty* into *France*, second sonne to the Right Honourable *Perigrine*, that generous Lord *Willoughby*, and famous Souldier: where comming to his brother *Robert*, then at *Orleans*, now Earle of *Linsey*, and Lord great Chamberlaine of *England*; being then but little youths under Tutorage: his service being needlesse, within a moneth or six weekes they sent him backe againe to his friends; who when he came from *London* they liberally gave him (but out of his owne estate) ten shillings to be rid of him: such oft is the share of fatherlesse children, but those two Honourable Brethren gave him sufficient to returne for *England*. But it was the least thought of his determination, for now being freely at libertie in *Paris*, growing acquainted with one Master *David Hume*, who making some use of his purse, gave him Letters to his friends in *Scotland* to preferre him to King *Iames*. Arriving at *Roane*, he better bethinkes himselfe, seeing his money neere spent, downe the River he went to *Haver de grace*, where he first began to learne the life of a souldier: Peace being concluded in *France*, he went with Captaine *Ioseph Duxbury* into the Low-countries, under whose Colours having served three or foure yeeres, he tooke his journey for *Scotland*, to deliver his Letters. At *Ancusan* he imbarked himselfe for *Lethe*, but as much danger, as shipwracke and sicknesse could endure, hee had at the holy Ile in *Northumberland* neere *Barwicke*: (being recovered) into *Scotland* he went to deliver his Letters. After much kinde usage amongst those honest *Scots* at *Ripweth* and *Broxmoth*, but neither money nor means to make him a Courtier, he returned to *Willoughby* in *Lincolne-shire*; where within a short time being glutted with too much company, wherein he he took small delight, he retired himselfe into a little wooddie pasture, a good way from any towne, invironed with many hundred Acres of other woods: Here by a faire brook he built a Pavillion of boughes, where only in his cloaths he lay. His studie was *Machiavills* Art of warre, and *Marcus Aurelius*; his exercise a good horse, with his lance and Ring; his food was thought to be more of venison than any thing

else; what he wanted his man brought him. The countrey wondering at such an Hermite; His friends perswaded one *Seignior Theadora Polaloga*, Rider to *Henry* Earle of *Lincolne*, an excellent Horse-man, and a noble *Italian* Gentleman, to insinuate into his wooddish acquaintances, whose Languages and good discourse, and exercise of riding drew him to stay with him at *Tattersall*. Long these pleasures could not content him, but hee returned againe to the Low-Countreyes.

CHAP. II.

The notable villany of foure French *Gallants, and his revenge;* Smith *throwne over-board, Captaine* La Roche *of Saint* Malo *releeves him.*

Thus when *France* and *Netherlands* had taught him to ride a Horse and use his Armes, with such rudiments of warre, as his tender yeeres in those martiall Schooles could attaine unto; he was desirous to see more of the world, and trie his fortune against the *Turkes*, both lamenting and repenting to have seene so many *Christians* slaughter one another. Opportunitie casting him into the company of foure *French* Gallants well attended, faining to him the one to be a great Lord, the rest his Gentlemen, and that they were all devoted that way; over-perswaded him to goe with them into *France*, to the Dutchesse of *Mercury*, from whom they should not only have meanes, but also Letters of favour to her noble Duke, then Generall for the Emperour *Rodolphus* in *Hungary;* which he did, with such ill weather as winter affordeth, in the darke night they arrived in the broad shallow In-let of Saint *Valleries sur Some* in *Picardie;* his *French* Lord knowing he had good apparell, and better furnished with money than themselves, so plotted with the Master of the ship to set his and their owne trunckes a shore leaving *Smith* aboard till the boat could returne, which was the next day after towards evening; the reason hee alleaged was the sea went so high hee could come no sooner, and that his

Lord was gone to *Amiens* where they would stay his comming; which treacherous villany, when divers other souldiers, and passengers understood, they had like to have slaine the Master, and had they knowne how, would have runne away with the ship.

Comming on shore hee had but one *Carralue*, was forced to sell his cloake to pay for his passage. One of the souldiers, called *Curzianvere*, compassionating his injury, assured him this great Lord *Depreau* was only the sonne of a Lawyer of *Mortaigne* in base *Britany*, and his Attendants *Cursell*, *La Nelie*, and *Monferrat*, three young citizens, as arrant cheats as himselfe; but if he would accompany him, he would bring him to their friends, but in the *interim* supplied his wants: thus travelling by *Deepe*, *Codebeck*, *Humphla*, *Pount-demer* in *Normandie*, they came to *Cane* in base *Normandie;* where both this noble *Curzianvere*, and the great Prior of the great Abbey of *S. Steven* (where is the ruinous Tombe of *William* the Conquerour.) and many other of his friends kindly welcomed him, and brought him to *Mortaigne*, where hee found *Depreau* and the rest, but to small purpose; for Mr. *Curzianvere* was a banished man, and durst not be seene, but to his friends: yet the bruit of their cosenage occasioned the Lady *Collumber*, the Baron *Larshan*, the Lord *Shasghe*, and divers other honourable persons, to supply his wants, and with them to recreate himselfe so long as hee would: but such pleasant pleasures suited little with his poore estate, and his restlesse spirit, that could never finde content, to receive such noble favours as he could neither deserve nor requite: but wandring from Port to Port to finde some man of war, spent that he had, and in a Forest, neere dead with griefe and cold, a rich Farmer found him by a faire Fountaine under a tree: This kinde Pesant releeved him againe to his content, to follow his intent. Not long after, as he passed thorow a great grove of trees, betweene *Pounterson* and *Dina* in *Britaine*, it was his chance to meet *Cursell*, more miserable than himselfe: His piercing injuries had so small patience, as without any word they both drew, and in a short time *Cursell* fell to the ground, where from an old ruinated Tower the inhabitants seeing them, were satisfied, when they heard *Cursell* confesse what had formerly passed; and that how in the dividing that they had stolne from him, they fell by the ears amongst themselves, that were actors in it; but for his part, he

excused himselfe to be innocent as well of the one, as of the other. In regard of his hurt, *Smith* was glad to be so rid of him, directing his course to an honourable Lord, the Earle of *Ployer*, who during the warre in *France*, with his two brethren, Viscount *Poomory*, and Baron *d' Mercy*, who had beene brought up in *England;* by him he was better refurnished than ever. When they had shewed him Saint *Malo* Mount, Saint *Michael*, *Lambal*, *Simbreack*, *Lanion*, and their owne faire Castle of *Tuncadeck*, *Gingan*, and divers other places in *Britanny*, (and their *Brittish Cornwaile*) taking his leave, he tooke his way to *Raynes*, the *Britaines* chiefe Citie, and so to *Nantes*, *Poyters*, *Rochell*, and *Burdeaux*. The rumour of the strength of *Bayon* in *Biskay*, caused him to see it: and from thence tooke his way from *Leskar* in *Biearne*, *&* *Paw* in the kingdom of *Navar* to *Tolouza* in *Gascoigne*, *Bezers* and *Carcassone*, *Narbone*, *Montpellier*, *Nimes* in *Languedock*, and thorow the Country of *Avignion*, by *Arles* to *Marcellos* in *Province*, there imbarking himselfe for *Italy*, the ship was enforced to *Tolonne*, and putting againe to sea, ill weather so grew upon them, they anchored close aboard the shore, under the little Isle of *S. Mary*, against *Neice* in *Savoy*. Here the inhumane Provincialls, with a rable of Pilgrimes of divers Nations going to *Rome*, hourely cursing him, not only for a *Hugonoit*, but his Nation they swore were all Pyrats, and so vildly railed on his dread Soveraigne Queene *Elizabeth*, and that they never should have faire weather so long as hee was aboard them; their disputations grew to that passion, that they threw him over-board, yet God brought him to that little Isle, where was no inhabitants, but a few kine and goats. The next morning he espied two ships more riding by them, put in by the storme, that fetched him aboard, well refreshed him, and so kindly used him that he was well contented to trie the rest of his fortune with them. After he had related unto them his former discourse, what for pitie, and the love of the honourable Earle of *Ployer*, this noble *Britaine* his neighbour, Captaine *la Roche* of Saint *Malo*, regarded and entertained him for his well respected friend. With the next faire wind they sailed along by the Coast of *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, and crossing the gulfe of *Tunis*, passed by *Cape Bona* to the Isle of *Lampadosa*, leaving the coast of *Barbary* till they came at *Cape Rosata*, and so along the *African* shore, for *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*. There delivering their fraught. they went to

Scandaroone; rather to view what ships was in the Roade, than any thing else: keeping their course by *Cypres* and the coast of *Asia*, sayling by *Rhodes*, the *Archipellagans*, *Candia*, and the coast of *Grecia*, and the Isle of *Zaffalonia*. They lay to and againe a few dayes betwixt the Isle of *Corfue* and the *Cape* of *Otranto* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, in the Entrance of the *Adriatike* sea.

CHAP. III.

A desperate Sea-fight in the Straights; his passage to Rome, Naples, *and the view of* Italy.

Betwixt the two *Capes* they meet with an *Argosie* of *Venice*, it seemed the Captaine desired to speak with them, whose untoward answer was such, as slew them a man; whereupon the *Britaine* presently gave them the broad-side, then his Sterne, and his other broad-side also, and continued the chase, with his chase peeces, till he gave them so many broad-sides one after another, that the *Argosies* sayles and tackling was so torne, she stood to her defence, and made shot for shot; twice in one houre and a halfe the *Britaine* boarded her, yet they cleared themselves, but clapping her aboard againe, the *Argosie* fired him, which with much danger to them both was presently quenched. This rather augmented the *Britaines* rage, than abated his courage; for having reaccommodated himselfe againe, shot her so oft betweene wind and water, shee was readie to sinke, then they yeelded; the *Britaine* lost fifteene men, she twentie, besides divers were hurt, the rest went to worke on all hands; some to stop the leakes, others to guard the prisoners that were chained, the rest to rifle her. The Silkes, Velvets, Cloth of gold, and Tissue, Pyasters, Chicqueenes and Sultanies, which is gold and silver, they unloaded in foure and twentie houres, was wonderfull, whereof having sufficient, and tired with toile, they cast her off with her company, with as much good merchandize as would have fraughted such another *Britaine*, that was but two hundred Tunnes, she foure or five hundred.

To repaire his defects, hee stood for the coast of *Calabria*, but hearing there was six or seven Galleyes at *Mesina* hee departed thence for *Malta*, but the wind comming faire, he kept his course along the coast of the Kingdome of *Sicilia* by *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, till he came to the Road of *Antibo* in *Peamon*, where he set *Smith* on shore with fiue hundred chicqueenes, and a little box God sent him worth neere as much more. Here he left this noble *Britaine*, and embarked himselfe for *Lygorne*, being glad to have such opportunitie and meanes to better his experience by the view of *Italy*; and having passed *Tuskany*, and the Countrey of *Sicana*, where hee found his deare friends, the two Honourable Brethren, the Lord *Willoughby* and his Brother cruelly wounded, in a desperate fray, yet to their exceeding great honour. Then to *Viterbo* and many other Cities he came to *Rome*, where it was his chance to see Pope *Clement* the eight, with many Cardinalls, creepe up the holy Stayres, which they say are those our Saviour Christ went up to *Pontius Pilate*, where bloud falling from his head, being pricked with his crowne of thornes, the drops are marked with nailes of steele, upon them none dare goe but in that manner, saying so many *Ave-Maries* and *Pater-nosters*, as is their devotion, and to kisse the nailes of steele: But on each side is a paire of such like staires, up which you may goe, stand, or kneele, but divided from the holy Staires by two walls: right against them is a Chappell, where hangs a great silver Lampe, which burneth continually, yet they say the oyle neither increaseth nor diminisheth. A little distant is the ancient Church of Saint *Iohn de Laterane*, where he saw him say Masse, which commonly he doth upon some Friday once a moneth. Having saluted Father *Parsons*, that famous *English* Iesuite, and satisfied himselfe with the rarities of *Rome*, he went downe the River of *Tiber* to *Cirita Vechia*, where he embarked himselfe to satisfie his eye with the faire Citie of *Naples* and her Kingdomes nobilitie; returning by *Capua*, *Rome* and *Seana*, he passed by that admired Citie of *Florence*, the Cities and Countries of *Bolonia*, *Ferrara*, *Mantua*, *Padua* and *Venice*, whose Gulfe he passed from *Malamoco* and the *Adriatike* Sea for *Ragouza*, spending some time to see that barren broken coast of *Albania* and *Dalmatia*, to *Capo de Istria*, travelling the maine of poore *Slavonia* by *Lubbiano*, till he came to *Grates* in *Steria*, the Seat

of *Ferdinando* Arch-duke of *Austria*, now Emperour of *Almania:* where he met an *English* man, and an *Irish* Iesuite, who acquainted him with many brave Gentlemen of good qualitie, especially with the Lord *Ebersbaught*, with whom trying such conclusions, as he projected to undertake, preferred him to Baron *Kisell*, Generall of the Artillery, and he to a worthy Collonell, the Earle of *Meldritch*, with whom going to *Vienne* in *Austria*, under whose Regiment, in what service, and how he spent his time, this ensuing Discourse will declare.

CHAP. IV.

The Siege of Olumpagh; *an excellent stratagem by* Smith; *another not much worse.*

After the losse of *Caniza*, the *Turkes* with twentie thousand besieged the strong Towne of *Olumpagh* so straightly, as they were cut off from all intelligence and hope of succour: till *Iohn Smith*, this *English* Gentleman, acquainted Baron *Kisell*, Generall of the Archdukes Artillery, he had taught the Governour, his worthy friend, such a Rule, that he would undertake to make him know any thing he intended, and have his answer, would they bring him but to some place where he might make the flame of a Torch seene to the Towne; *Kisell* inflamed with this strange invention; *Smith* made it so plaine, that forthwith hee gave him guides, who in the darke night brought him to a mountaine, where he shewed three Torches equidistant from other, which plainly appearing to the Towne, the Governour presently apprehended, and answered againe with three other fires in like manner; each knowing the others being and intent; *Smith*, though distant seven miles, signified to him these words: On Thursday at night I will charge on the East, at the Alarum, salley you: *Ebershaught* answered he would, and thus it was done: First he writ his message as briefe, you see, as could be, then divided the Alphabet in two parts thus;

A.	*b.*	*c.*	*d.*	*e.*	*f.*	*g.*	*h.*	*i.*	*k.*	*l.*
1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1	1.	1.	1.

m.	*n.*	*o.*	*p.*	*q.*	*r.*	*s.*	*t.*	*v.*	*w.*	*x.*
2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.

y.	*z.*
2.	2.

The first part from A. to L. is signified by shewing and hiding one linke, so oft as there is letters from A. to that letter you meane: the other part from M. to Z. is mentioned by two lights in like manner. The end of a word is signified by shewing of three lights, ever staying your light at that letter you meane, till the other may write it in a paper, and answer by his signall, which is one light, it is done, beginning to count the letters by the lights, every time from A. to M. by this meanes also the other returned his answer, whereby each did understand other. The Guides all this time having well viewed the Campe, returned to *Kisell*, who doubting of his power being but ten thousand, was animated by the Guides, how the *Turkes* were so divided by the River in two parts, they could not easily second each other. To which *Smith* added this conclusion; that two or three thousand pieces of match fastened to divers small lines of an hundred fathome in length being armed with powder, might all be fired and stretched at an instant before the Alarum, upon the Plaine of *Hysnaburg*, supported by two staves, at each lines end. in that manner would seeme like so many Musketteers: which was put in practice; and being discovered by the *Turkes*; they prepared to encounter these false fires, thinking there had beene some great Armie: whilest *Kisell* with his ten thousand being entered the *Turks* quarter, who ranne up and downe as men amazed. It was not long ere *Ebersbaught* was pell-mell with them in their Trenches; in which distracted confusion, a third part of the *Turkes*, that besieged that side towards *Knousbrack*, were slaine; many of the rest drowned, but all fled. The other part of the Armie was so busied to resist the false fires, that *Kisell* before the morning put two thousand good souldiers in the Towne, and with small losse was retired; the Garrison was well releeved with that they found in the *Turkes* quarter, which caused the *Turkes* to raise their siege and returne to *Caniza*: and *Kisell* with

much honour was received at *Kerment*, and occasioned the Author a good reward and preferment, to be Captaine of two hundred and fiftie Horse-men, under the Conduct of Colonell *Voldo*, Earle of *Meldritch*.

CHAP. V.

The Siege of Stowlle-Wesenburg; *the effects of* Smiths *Fire-works; a worthy exploit of the Earle* Rosworme; *Earle* Meldritch *takes the* Bashaw *prisoner.*

A GENERALL rumour of a generall peace, now spred it selfe over all the face of those tormented Countries: but the *Turke* intended no such matter, but levied souldiers from all parts he could. The Emperour also, by the assistance of the *Christian* Princes, provided three Armies, the one led by the Archduke *Mathias*, the Emperours brother, and his Lieutenant Duke *Mercury* to defend Low *Hungary*, the second, by *Ferdinando* the Arch-duke of *Steria*, and the Duke of *Mantua* his Lieutenant to regaine *Caniza*; the third by *Gonzago*, Governour of High *Hungary*, to joyne with *Georgio Busca*, to make an absolute conquest of *Transilvania*.

Duke *Mercury* with an Armie of thirtie thousand, whereof neere ten thousand were *French*, besieged *Stowlle-wesenburg*, otherwise called *Alba Regalis*, a place so strong by Art and Nature, that it was thought impregnable. At his first comming, the *Turkes* sallied upon the *Germane* quarter, slew neere five hundred, and returned before they were thought on. The next night in like manner they did neere as much to the *Bemers* and *Hungarians*: of which fortune still presuming, thinking to have found the *French* quarter as carelesse, eight or nine hundred of them were cut in pieces and taken prisoners. In this encounter Mousieur *Grandvile*, a brave *French* Colonell, received seven or eight cruell wounds, yet followed the Enemie to the ports; he came off alive, but within three or foure dayes died.

Earle *Meldritch*, by the information of three or foure *Christians*, (escaped out of the Towne) upon every Alarum,

where there was greatest assemblies and throng of people, caused Captaine *Smith* to put in practice his fiery Dragons, hee had demonstrated unto him, and the Earle *Von Sulch* at *Comora*, which hee thus performed: Having prepared fortie or fiftie round-bellied earthen pots and filled them with hand Gunpowder, then covered them with Pitch, mingled with Brimstone and Turpentine; and quartering as many Musket-bullets, that hung together but only at the Center of the division, stucke them round in the mixture about the pots, and covered them againe with the same mixture, over that a strong Searcloth, then over all a goode thicknesse of Towze-match well tempered with oyle of Lin-seed, Campheer, and powder of Brimstone, these he fitly placed in slings, graduated so neere as they could to the places of these Assemblies. At midnight upon the Alarum, it was a fearfull sight to see the short flaming course of their flight in the aire, but presently after their fall, the lamentable noise of the miserable slaughtered *Turkes* was most wonderfull to heare: Besides, they had fired that Suburbe at the Port of *Buda* in two or three places, which so troubled the *Turkes* to quench, that had there beene any means to have assaulted them, they could hardly have resisted the fire, and their enemies. The Earle *Rosworme*, contrary to the opinion of all men, would needs undertake to finde meanes to surprize the Segeth and Suburbe of the Citie, strongly defended by a muddie Lake, which was thought unpassable.

The Duke having planted his Ordnance, battered the other side, whilest *Rosworme*, in the darke night, with every man a bundle of sedge and bavins still throwne before them, so laded up the Lake, as they surprized that unregarded Suburbe before they were discovered: upon which unexpected Alarum, the *Turkes* fled into the Citie, and the other Suburbe not knowing the matter, got into the Citie also, leaving their Suburbe for the Duke, who with no great resistance, tooke it, with many peeces of Ordnance; the Citie, being of no such strength as the Suburbs, with their owne Ordnance was so battered, that it was taken perforce, with such a mercilesse execution, as was most pitifull to behold. The *Bashaw* notwithstanding drew together a partie of five hundred before his owne Pallace, where he intended to die; but seeing most of his men slaine before him, by the valiant Captaine Earle *Meldritch*, who tooke him prisoner

with his owne hands; and with the hazard of himselfe saved him from the fury of other troops, that did pull downe his Pallace, and would have rent him in peeces, had he not beene thus preserved. The Duke thought his victory much honoured with such a Prisoner; tooke order hee should bee used like a Prince, and with all expedition gave charge presently to repaire the breaches, and the ruines of this famous Citie, that had beene in the possession of the *Turkes* neere threescore yeares.

CHAP. VI.

A brave encounter of the Turkes *Armie with the* Christians: *Duke* Mercury *overthroweth* Assan Bashaw; *Hee divides the* Christian *Armie; His noblenesse and death.*

Mahomet, the great *Turke*, during the siege, had raised an Armie of sixtie thousand men to have releeved it; but hearing it was lost, he sent *Assan Bashaw* Generall of his Armie, the *Bashaw* of *Buda*, *Bashaw Amuroz*, to see if it were possible to regaine it; The Duke understanding there could be no great experience in such a new levied Armie as *Assan* had; having put a strong Garrison into it: and with the brave Colonell *Rosworme*, *Culnits*, *Meldritch*, the *Rhine-Grave*, *Vahan* and many others: with twenty thousand good souldiers, set forward to meet the *Turke* in the plaines of *Girke*. Those two Armies encountred as they marched, where began a hot and bloudy Skirmish betwixt them, Regiment against Regiment, as they came in order, till the night parted them: Here Earle *Meldritch* was so invironed amongst those halfe circuler Regiments of *Turkes*, they supposed him their prisoner, and his Regiment lost; but his two most couragious friends, *Vahan* and *Culnits*, made such a passage amongst them, that it was a terror to see how horse and man lay sprawling and tumbling, some one away, some another on the ground. The Earle there at that time made his valour shine more bright than his armour, which seemed then painted with *Turkish* bloud. he slew the brave *Zanzack Bugola*, and made

his passage to his friends, but neere halfe his Regiment was slaine. Captain *Smith* had his horse slaine under him, and himselfe sore wounded; but he was not long unmounted, for there was choice enough of horses, that wanted masters. The *Turke* thinking the victory sure against the Duke, whose Armie, by the Siege and the Garrison, he had left behind him, was much weakned, would not be content with one, but he would have all; and lest the Duke should returne to *Alba Regalis*, he sent that night twenty thousand to besiege the Citie, assuring them he would keepe the Duke or any other from releeving them. Two or three dayes they lay each by other, entrenching themselves; the *Turkes* daring the *Duke* daily to a sett battell, who at length drew out his Army, led by the *Rhine-Grave*, *Culnits* and *Meldritch*, who upon their first encounter, charged with that resolute and valiant courage, as disordered not only the formost squadrons of the *Turkes*, but enforced all the whole Armie to retire to the Campe, with the losse of five or six thousand, with the *Bashaw* of *Buda*, and foure or five *Zanzacks*, with divers other great Commanders, two hundred Prisoners, and nine peeces of Ordnance. At that instant appeared, as it were, another Armie comming out of a valley over a plaine hill, that caused the Duke at that time to be contented, and to retire to his Trenches: which gave time to *Assan* to reorder his disordered squadrons: Here they lay nine or ten dayes, and more supplies repaired to them, expecting to try the event in a sett battell; but the souldiers on both parties, by reason of their great wants and approach of winter, grew so discontented, that they were ready of themselves to breake up the Leager; the *Bashaw* retiring himselfe to *Buda*, had some of the Reare Troopes cut off. *Amaroz Bashaw* hearing of this, found such bad welcome at *Alba Regalis*, and the Towne so strongly repaired, with so brave a Garrison, raised his siege, and retired to *Zigetum*.

The Duke understanding that the Arch-duke *Ferdinando* had so resolutely besieged *Caniza*, as what by the losse of *Alba Regalis*, and the *Turks* retreat to *Buda*, being void of hope of any reliefe, doubted not but it would become againe the *Christians*. To the furtherance whereof, the Duke divided his Armie into three parts. The Earle of *Rosworme* went with seven thousand to *Caniza;* the Earle of *Meldritch* with six thousand he sent to assist *Georgio Busca* against the

Transilvanians, the rest went with himselfe to the Garrisons of *Strigonium* and *Komara;* having thus worthily behaved himselfe, he arrived at *Vienne*, where the Arch-dukes and the Nobilitie with as much honour received him, as if he had conquered all *Hungaria;* his very Picture they esteemed would make them fortunate, which thousands kept as curiously as a precious relique. To requite this honour, preparing himselfe to returne into *France*, to raise new Forces against the next yeare, with the two Arch-dukes, *Mathias* and *Maximilian*, and divers others of the Nobilitie, was with great magnificence conducted to *Nurenburg*, there by them royally feasted, (how it chanced is not knowne:) but the next morning he was found dead, and his brother in law died two dayes after; whose hearts, after this great triumph, with much sorrow were carried into *France.*

CHAP. VII.

The unhappie Siege of Caniza: *Earle* Meldritch *serveth Prince* Sigismundus; *Prince* Moyses *besiegeth* Regall: Smiths *three single combats; His Patent from* Sigismundus, *and reward.*

The worthy Lord *Rosworme* had not a worse journey to the miserable Siege of *Caniza*, (where by the extremitie of an extraordinary continuing tempest of haile, wind, frost and snow, in so much that the *Christians* were forced to leave their Tents and Artillery, and what they had: it being so cold that three or foure hundred of them were frozen to death in a night, and two or three thousand lost in that miserable flight in the snowie tempest, though they did know no enemie at all to follow them:) then the noble Earle of *Meldritch* had to *Transilvania*, where hearing of the death of *Michael* and the brave Duke *Mercury*, and knowing the policie of *Busca*, and the Prince his Roialtie, being now beyond all beleefe of men, in possession of the best part of *Transilvania*, perswaded his troopes, in so honest a cause, to assist the Prince against the *Turke*, rather than *Busca* against the Prince.

The souldiers being worne out with those hard payes and travells, upon hope to have free libertie to make bootie upon what they could get possession of from the *Turkes*, was easily perswaded to follow him whithersoever. Now this noble Earle was a *Transilvanian* borne, and his fathers Countrey yet inhabited by the *Turkes;* for *Transilvania* was yet in three divisions, though the Prince had the hearts both of Country and people; yet the Frontiers had a Garrison amongst the unpassable mountaines, some for the Emperour, some for the Prince, and some for the *Turke:* to regaine which small estate, hee desired leave of the Prince to trie his fortunes, and to make use of that experience, the time of twentie yeares had taught him in the Emperours service, promising to spend the rest of his dayes for his countries defence in his Excellencies service. The Prince glad of so brave a commander, and so many expert and ancient souldiers, made him Campe-master of his Armie, gave him all necessary releefe for his troopes and what freedome they desired to plunder the *Turkes*.

The Earle having made many incursions into the Land of *Zarkam* among those rockie mountains, where were some *Turks*, some *Tartars*, but most *Bandittoes*, *Rennegadoes*, and such like, which sometimes hee forced into the Plaines of *Regall*, where is a Citie not only of men and fortifications, strong of it selfe, but so environed with mountaines, that made the passages so difficult, that in all these warres no attempt had beene made upon it to any purpose: Having satisfied himselfe with the Situation, and the most convenient passages to bring his Armie unto it: The earth no sooner put on her greene habit, than the Earle overspread her with his armed troopes. To possesse himselfe first of the most convenient passage, which was a narrow valley betwixt two high mountaines; he sent Colonell *Veltus* with his Regiment, dispersed in companies to lye in *Ambuscado*, as he had directed them, and in the morning to driue all the cattell they could finde before a Fort in that passage, whom he supposed would sally, seeing but some small partie, to recover their prey; which tooke such good successe, that the Garrison was cut off by the *Ambuscado*, and *Veltus* seized on the Skonces, which was abandoned. *Meldritch* glad of so fortunate a beginning; it was six dayes ere he could with six thousand Pioners make passage for his Ordnance: The *Turkes* having

such warning, strengthned the Towne so with men and provision, that they made a scorne of so small a number as *Meldritch* brought with him before the Citie, which was but eight thousand. Before they had pitched their Tents, the *Turkes* sallied in such abundance, as for an houre they had rather a bloudy battell than a skirmish, but with the losse of neere fifteene hundred on both sides. The *Turkes* were chased till the Cities Ordnance caused the Earle to retire. The next day *Zachel Moyses*, Generall of the Armie, pitched also his tents with nine thousand foot and horse, and six and twenty peeces of Ordnance; but in regard of the situation of this strong Fortresse, they did neither feare them nor hurt them, being upon the point of a faire promontory, environed on the one side within halfe a mile with an un-usefull mountaine, and on the other side with a faire Plaine, where the *Christians* encamped, but so commanded by their Ordnance, they spent neere a month in entrenching themselves, and raising their mounts to plant their batteries; which slow proceedings the *Turkes* oft derided, that their Ordnance were at pawne, and how they grew fat for want of exercise, and fearing lest they should depart ere they could assault their Citie, sent this Challenge to any Captaine in the Armie.

That to delight the Ladies, who did long to see some court-like pastime, the Lord *Turbashaw* did defie any Captaine, that had the command of a Company, who durst combate with him for his head: The matter being discussed, it was accepted, but so many questions grew for the undertaking, it was decided by lots, which fell upon Captaine *Smith*, before spoken of.

Truce being made for that time, the Rampiers all beset with faire Dames, and men in Armes, the *Christians* in *Battalio; Turbashaw* with a noise of Howboyes entred the field well mounted and armed; on his shoulders were fixed a paire of great wings, compacted of Eagles feathers within a ridge of silver, richly garnished with gold and precious stones, a *Ianizary* before him, bearing his Lance, on each side another leading his horse; where long hee stayed not, ere *Smith* with a noise of Trumpets, only a page bearing his Lance, passing by him with a courteous salute, tooke his ground with such goode successe, that at the sound of the charge, he passed the *Turke* thorow the sight of his Beaver, face, head and all, that he fell dead to the ground, where alighting and unbracing

his Helmet, cut off his head, and the *Turkes* tooke his body; and so returned without any hurt at all. The head hee presented to the Lord *Moses*, the Generall, who kindly accepted it, and with joy to the whole armie he was generally welcomed.

The death of this Captaine so swelled in the heart of one *Grualgo*, his vowed friend, as rather inraged with madnesse than choller, he directed a particular challenge to the Conquerour, to regaine his friends head, or lose his owne, with his horse and Armour for advantage, which according to his desire was the next day undertaken: as before upon the sound of the Trumpets, their Lances flew in peeces upon a cleare passage, but the *Turke* was neere unhorsed. Their Pistolls was the next, which marked *Smith* upon the placard; but the next shot the *Turke* was so wounded in the left arme, that being not able to rule his horse, and defend himselfe, he was throwne to the ground, and so bruised with the fall, that he lost his head, as his friend before him; with his horse and Armour; but his body and his rich apparell was sent backe to the Towne.

Every day the *Turkes* made some sallies, but few skirmishes would they endure to any purpose. Our workes and approaches being not yet advanced to that height and effect which was of necessitie to be performed; to delude time, *Smith* with so many incontradictible perswading reasons, obtained leave that the Ladies might know he was not so much enamoured of their servants heads, but if any *Turke* of their ranke would come to the place of combate to redeeme them, should have his also upon the like conditions, if he could winne it.

The challenge presently was accepted by *Bonny Mulgro*. The next day both the Champions entring the field as before, each discharging their Pistoll, having no Lances, but such martiall weapons as the defendant appointed, no hurt was done; their Battle-axes was the next; whose piercing bils made sometime the one, sometime the other to have scarce sense to keepe their saddles, specially the *Christian* received such a blow that he lost his Battle-axe, and failed not much to have fallen after it, whereat the supposing conquering *Turk*, had a great shout from the Rampiers. The *Turk* prosecuted his advantage to the uttermost of his power; yet the other, what by the readinesse of his horse, and his

judgment and dexterity in such a businesse, beyond all mens expectation, by Gods assistance, not onely avoided the *Turkes* violence, but having drawne his Faulchion, pierced the *Turke* so under the Culets thorow backe and body, that although he alighted from his horse, he stood not long ere hee lost his head, as the rest had done.

CHAP. VIII.

Georgio Busca *an* **Albane** *his ingratitude to Prince* **Sigismundus;** *Prince* **Moyses** *his Lieutenant, is overthrowne by* **Busca**, *Generall for the Emperour* **Rodolphus; Sigismundus** *yeeldeth his Countrey to* **Rodolphus; Busca** *assisteth Prince* **Rodoll** *in* **Wallachia.**

This good successe gave such great encouragement to the whole Armie, that with a guard of six thousand, three spare horses, before each a *Turkes* head upon a Lance, he was conducted to the Generalls Pavillion with his Presents.—*Moyses* received both him and them with as much respect as the occasion deserved, embracing him in his armes, gave him a faire Horse richly furnished, a Semitere and belt worth three hundred ducats; and *Meldritch* made him Sergeant major of his Regiment. But now to the siege, having mounted six and twenty peeces of Ordnance fifty or sixty foot above the Plaine, made them so plainly tell his meaning, that within fifteene dayes two breaches were made which the *Turkes* as valiantly defended as men could; that day was made a darksome night, but by the light that proceeded from the murdering Muskets, and peace-making Canon, whilest their slothfull Governour lay in a Castle on the top of a high mountaine, and like a valiant Prince asketh what's the matter, when horrour and death stood amazed each at other, to see who should prevaile to make him victorious: *Moyses* commanding a generall assault upon the sloping front of the high Promontory, where the Barons of *Budendorfe* and *Oberrein* lost neere halfe their Regiments by logs, bags of powder, and

such like, tumbling downe the hill, they were to mount ere they could come to the breach; notwithstanding with an incredible courage they advanced to the push of the Pike with the defendants, that with the like courage repulsed, till the Earle *Meldritch*, *Becklefield* and *Zarvana*, with their fresh Regiments seconded them with that fury, that the *Turks* retired and fled into the Castle, from whence by a flag of truce they desired composition. The Earle remembering his fathers death, battered it with all the Ordnance in the Towne, and the next day took it: all he found could beare Armes he put to the sword, and set their heads upon stakes round about the walles, in the same manner they had used the *Christians*, when they tooke it. *Moyses* having repaired the Rampiers, and thrown downe the worke in his Campe, he put in it a strong Garrison, though the pillage he had gotten in the Towne was much, having been for a long time an impregnable den of theeves; yet the losse of the Armie so intermingled the sowre with the sweet, as forced *Moyses* to seek a further revenge, that he sacked *Veratio*, *Solmos*, and *Kupronka*, and with two thousand prisoners, most women and children, came to *Esenberg*, not farre from the Princes Palace, where he there Encamped.

Sigismundus comming to view his Armie, was presented with the Prisoners, and six and-thirtie Ensignes; where celebrating thanks to Almightie God in triumph of those victories, hee was made acquainted with the service *Smith* had done at *Olumpagh*, *Stowle-Wesenburg* and *Regall*, for which with great honour hee gave him three *Turkes* heads in a Shield for his Armes, by Patent, under his hand and Seale, with an Oath ever to weare them in his Colours, his Picture in Gould, and three hundred Ducats, yeerely for a Pension.

Sigismvndvs Bathori, Dei gratia Dux *Transilvaniæ*, *Wallachiæ*, & *Vandalorum*; Comes *Anchard*, *Salford*: *Growenda*; Cunctis his literis significamus qui eas lecturi aut audituri sunt, concessam licentiam aut facultatem *Iohanni Smith*, natione *Anglo* Generoso, 250. militum Capitaneo sub Illustrissimi & Gravissimi *Henrici Volda*, Comitis de *Meldri*, *Salmariæ* & *Peldoiæ* primario, ex 1000. equitibus & 1500. peditibus bello *Vngarico* conductione in Provincias supra

scriptas sub Authoritate nostra: cui servituti omni laude, perpetuaq. memòria dignum præbuit sese erga nos, ut virum strenuum pugnantem pro aris & focis decet. Quare favore nostro militario ipsum ordine condonavimus, & in Sigillum illius tria *Turcica* Capita designare & deprimere concessimus, quæ ipso gladio suo ad Vrbem *Regalem* in singulari prælio vicit, mactavit, atq; decollavit in *Transilvaniæ* Provincia: Sed fortuna cum variabilis ancepsq; sit idem forte fortuito in *Wallachia* Provincia Anno Domini 1602. die Mensis Novembris 18. cum multis aliis etiam Nobilibus & aliis quibusdam militibus captus est a Domino *Bascha* electo ex *Cambia* regionis *Tartariæ*, cujus severitate adductus salutem quantam potuit quæsivit, tantumque effecit, Deo omnipotente adjuvante, ut deliberavit se, & ad suos Commilitones revertit; ex quibus ipsum liberavimus, & hæc nobis testimonia habuit ut majori licentia frueretur qua dignus esset, jam tendet in patriam suam dulcissiman: Rogamus ergo omnes nostros charissimos, confinitimos, Duces, Principes, Comites, Barones Gubernatores Vrbium & Navium in eadem Regione & cæterarum Provinciarum in quibus ille residere conatus fuerit ut idem permittatur Capitaneus libere sine obstaculo omni versari. Hæc facientes pergratum nobis feceritis. Signatum *Lesprizia* in *Misnia* die Mensis Decembris 9. Anno Domini 1603.

SIGISMVNDVS BATHORI.

Cum Privilegio propriæ Majectatis.

Universis, & singulis, cujuscunq. loci, status, gradus, ordinis, ac conditionis ad quos hoc præsens scriptum pervenerit, *Guilielmus Segar* Eques auratus alias dictus Garterus Principalis Rex Armorum *Anglicorum*. Salutem. *Sciatis*, quod Ego prædictus Garterus, notum, testatumque facio, quod Patentem suprascriptum, cum manu propria praedicti Ducis *Transilvaniæ* subsignatum, et Sigillo suo affixum, Vidi: & Copiam veram ejusdem (in perpetuam memoriam) transcripsi, & recordavi in Arhivis, & Registris Officii Armorum. Datum *Londini* 19. die Augusti, Anno Domini 1625. Annoque

Regni Domini nostri Caroli Dei gratia Magnae *Britanniæ*, *Franciæ*, & *Hiberniæ* Regis, Fidei Defensoris, &c. Primo.

GVILIELMVS SEGAR, *Garterus*.

Sigismvndvs Bathor, by the Grace of God, Duke of *Transilvania*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*, Earle of *Anchard*, *Salford* and *Growenda*; to whom this Writing may come or appeare. Know that We have given leave and licence to *Iohn Smith* an *English* Gentleman, Captaine of 250. Souldiers, under the most Generous and Honourable *Henry Volda*, Earle of *Meldritch*, *Salmaria*, and *Peldoia*, Colonell of a thousand horse, and fifteene hundred foot, in the warres of *Hungary*, and in the Provinces aforesaid under our authority; whose service doth deserve all praise and perpetuall memory towards us, as a man that did for God and his Country overcome his enemies: Wherefore out of Our love and favour, according to the law of Armes, We have ordained and given him in his shield of Armes, the figure and description of three *Turks* heads, which with his sword before the towne of *Regall*, in single combat he did overcome, kill, and cut off, in the Province of *Transilvania*. But fortune, as she is very variable, so it chanced and happened to him in the province of *Wallachia*, in the yeare of our Lord, 1602. the 18. day of November, with many others, as well Noble men, as also divers other Souldiers, were taken prisoners by the Lord *Bashaw* of *Cambia*, a Country of *Tartaria*; whose cruelty brought him such good fortune, by the helpe and power of Almighty God, that hee delivered himselfe, and returned againe to his company and fellow souldiers, of whom We doe discharge him, and this hee hath in witnesse thereof, being much more worthy of a better reward; and now intends to returne to his owne sweet Country. We desire therefore all our loving and kinde kinsmen, Dukes, Princes, Earles, Barons, Governours of Townes, Cities, or Ships, in this Kingdome, or any other Provinces he shall come in, that you freely let passe this the aforesaid Captaine, without any hinderance or molestation, and this doing, with all kindnesse we are always ready to doe the like for you. Sealed at

Lipswick in *Misenland*, the ninth of December, in the yeare of our Lord, 1603.

SIGISMVNDVS BATHOR.

With the proper privilege of his Majestie.

To all and singular, in what place, state, degree, order, or condition whatsoever, to whom this present writing shall come: I *William Segar* Knight, otherwise Garter, and principall King of Armes of *England*, wish health. Know that I the aforesaid Garter, do witnesse and approve, that this aforesaid Patent, I have seene, signed, and sealed, under the proper hand and Seale Manual of the said Duke of *Transilvania*, and a true coppy of the same, as a thing for perpetuall memory, I have subscribed and recorded in the Register and office of the Heralds of Armes. Dated at London the nineteenth day of August, in the yeare of our Lord, 1625. and in the first yeare of our Soueraigne Lord *Charles* by the grace of God, King of great *Britaine*, *France*, and *Ireland*; Defender of the faith, &c.

WILLIAM SEGAR.

CHAP. IX.

Sigismundus *sends Ambassadours vnto the Emperour, the conditions re-assured; He yeeldeth up all to* Busca, *and returneth to* Prague.

Bvsca having all this time beene raising new forces, was commanded from the Emperour againe to invade *Transilvania*, which being one of the fruitfullest and strongest Countries in those parts, was now rather a desart, or the very spectacle of desolation; their fruits and fields overgrowne with weeds, their Churches and battered Palaces and best buildings, as for feare, hid with Mosse and Ivy; being the very Bulwarke and Rampire of a great part of *Europe*, most fit

by all Christians to haue beene supplyed and maintained, was thus brought to ruine by them it most concerned to support it. But alas, what is it, when the power of Majestie pampered in all delights of pleasant vanity, neither knowing nor considering the labour of the Ploughman, the hazard of the Merchant, the oppression of Statesmen; nor feeling the piercing torments of broken limbs, and inveterated wounds, the toilsome marches, the bad lodging, the hungry diet, and the extreme misery that Souldiers endure to secure all those estates, and yet by the spight of malicious detraction, starves for want of their reward and recompences; whilest the politique Courtier, that commonly aimes more at his owne honors and ends, than his Countries good, or his Princes glory, honour, or security, as this worthy Prince too well could testifie. But the Emperor being certified how weak and desperate his estate was, sent *Busca* againe with a great Army, to trie his fortune once more in *Transilvania*. The Prince considering how his Country and subjects were consumed, the small means he had any longer to defend his estate, both against the cruelty of the *Turke* and the power of the Emperor, and the small care the *Polanders* had in supplying him, as they had promised, sent to *Busca* to haue truce, till messengers might be sent to the Emperour for some better agreement, wherewith *Busca* was contented. The Ambassadours so prevailed, that the Emperour re-assured vnto them the conditions he had promised the Prince at their confederacie for the lands in *Silesia*, with 60000. ducats presently in hand, and 50000. ducats yearely as a pension. When this conclusion was knowne to *Moyses* his Lieftenant (then in the field with the Army, that would doe any thing rather than come in subjection to the *Germans*, he encouraged his Souldiers, and without any more adoe marched to encounter *Busca*, whom he found much better provided than he expected; so that betwixt them in six or seven houres, more than five or six thousand on both sides lay dead on the field. *Moyses* thus overthrowne, fled to the *Turks* at *Temesware*, and his scattered troopes some one way, some another.

The Prince vnderstanding of this so sudden and unexpected accident, onely accompanied with an hundred of his Gentry and Nobility, went into the campe to *Busca*, to let him know, how ignorant he was of his Lieutenants errour, that had done it without his direction or knowledge, freely offering

to performe what was concluded by his Ambassadours with the Emperour; and so causing all his Garrisons to come out of their strong holds, he delivered all to *Busca* for the Emperour, and so went to *Prague*, where he was honourably receiued, and established in his possessions, as his Emperiall Majestie had promised. *Busca* assembling all the Nobility, tooke their oaths of allegeance and fidelity, and thus their Prince being gone, *Transilvania* againe became subject to the Emperour.

Now after the death of *Michael*, Vavoyd of *Wallachia*, the *Turke* sent one *Ieremie* to be their Vavoyd or Prince; whose insulting tyranny caused the people to take Armes against him, so that he was forced to flie into the confines of *Moldavia;* and *Busca* in the behalfe of the Emperour, proclaimed the Lord *Rodoll* in his stead. But *Ieremy* having assembled an Army of forty thousand *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moldavians*, returned into *Wallachia*. *Rodoll* not yet able to raise such a power, fled into *Transilvania* to *Busca*, his ancient friend; who considering well of the matter, and how good it would be for his owne security to have *Wallachia* subject to the Emperour, or at least such an employment for the remainders of the old Regiments of *Sigismundus*, (of whose greatnesse and true affection hee was very suspitious,) sent them with *Rodoll* to recover *Wallachia*, conducted by the valiant Captaines, the Earle *Meldritch*, Earle *Veltus*, Earle *Nederspolt*, Earle *Zarvana*, the Lord *Bechlefield*, the Lord *Budendorfe*, with their Regiments, and divers others of great ranke and quality, the greatest friends and alliances the Prince had; who with their thirty thousand, marched along by the river *Altus*, to the streights of *Rebrinke*, where they entered *Wallachia*, encamping at *Raza; Ieremie* lying at *Argish*, drew his Army into his old campe, in the plaines of *Peteske*, and with his best diligence fortified it, intending to defend himselfe till more power came to him from the *Crym-Tartar*. Many small parties that came to his campe, *Rodoll* cut off, and in the nights would cause their heads to be throwne vp and downe before the trenches. Seven of their Porters were taken, whom *Ieremie* commanded to be flayed quicke, and after hung their skinnes vpon poles, and their carkasses and heads on stakes by them.

CHAP. X.

The battell of Rotenton; *a pretty stratagem of fireworkes by* Smith.

Rodoll not knowing how to draw the enemie to battell, raised his Armie, burning and spoyling all where he came, and returned againe towards *Rebrinke* in the night; as if he had fled upon the generall rumour of the *Crym-Tartars* comming, which so inflamed the *Turkes* of a happy victory, they vrged *Ieremy* against his will to follow them. *Rodoll* seeing his plot fell out as he desired, so ordered the matter, that having regained the streights, he put his Army in order, that had beene neere two dayes pursued, with continuall skirmishes in his Reare, which now making head against the enemie, that followed with their whole Armie in the best manner they could, was furiously charged with six thousand *Hydukes*, *Wallachians*, and *Moldavians*, led by three Colonells, *Oversall*, *Dubras*, and *Caleb*, to entertaine the time till the rest came up; *Veltus* and *Nederspolt* with their Regiments, entertained them with the like courage, till the Zanzacke *Hamesbeg*, with six thousand more, came with a fresh charge, which *Meldritch* and *Budendorfe*, rather like enraged lions, than men, so bravely encountred, as if in them only had consisted the victory; *Meldritchs* horse being slaine vnder him, the *Turks* pressed what they could to have taken him prisoner, but being remounted, it was thought with his owne hand he slew the valiant Zanzacke, whereupon his troopes retyring, the two proud *Bashawes*, *Aladin*, and *Zizimmus*, brought up the front of the body of their battell. *Veltus* and *Nederspolt* having breathed, and joyning their troopes with *Becklefield* and *Zarvana*, with such an incredible courage charged the left flancke of *Zizimmus*, as put them all in disorder, where *Zizimmus* the *Bashaw* was taken prisoner, but died presently upon his wounds. *Ieremie* seeing now the maine battell of *Rodoll* advance, being thus constrained, like a valiant Prince in his front of the Vantgard, by his example so branely encouraged his souldiers, that *Rodoll* found no great assurance of the victorie. Thus being joyned in this bloudy massacre, that there was scarce ground to stand upon, but upon the dead carkasses, which in lesse than an hower were

so mingled, as if each Regiment had singled out other.—The admired *Aladin* that day did leave behinde him a glorious name for his valour, whose death many of his enemies did lament after the victory, which at that instant fell to *Rodoll.* It was reported *Ieremie* was also slaine, but it was not so, but fled with the remainder of his Armie to *Moldavia*, leaving five and twenty thousand dead in the field, of both Armies. And thus *Rodoll* was seated againe in his Soueraignty, and *Wallachia* became subject to the Emperour.

But long he rested not to settle his new estate, but there came newes, that certaine Regiments of stragling *Tartars*, were foraging those parts towards *Moldavia. Meldritch* with thirteene thousand men was sent against them, but when they heard it was the *Crym-Tartar* and sonnes, with an Army of thirty thousand; and *Ieremie*, that had escaped with fourteene or fifteen thousand, lay in ambush for them about *Langanaw*, he retired towards *Rottenton*, a strong garrison for *Rodoll;* but they were so environed with these hellish numbers, they could make no great haste for skirmishing with their scouts, forragers, and small parties that still encountred them. But one night amongst the rest, having made passage through a wood, with an incredible expedition, cutting trees thwart each other to hinder their passage, in a thicke fogge early in the morning, unexpectedly they met two thousand loaded with pillage, and two or three hundred horse and cattell: the most of them were slaine and taken prisoners, who told them where *Ieremie* lay in the passage, expecting the *Crym-Tartar* that was not farre from him. *Meldritch* intending to make his passage perforce, was advised of a pretty stratagem by the English *Smith*, which presently he thus accomplished; for having accommodated two or three hundred truncks with wilde fire, vpon the heads of lances, and charging the enemie in the night, gave fire to the truncks, which blazed forth such flames and sparkles, that it so amazed not onely their horses, but their foot also; that by the meanes of this flaming encounter, their owne horses turned tailes with such fury, as by their violence overthrew *Ieremy* and his Army, without any losse at all to speak of to *Meldritch*. But of this victory long they triumphed not; for being within three leagues of *Rottenton*, the *Tartar* with neere forty thousand so beset them, that they must either fight, or be cut in peeces flying. Here *Busca* and the Emperour had their desire; for the Sunne no

sooner displayed his beames, than the *Tartar* his colours; where at midday he stayed a while, to see the passage of a tyraunicall and treacherous imposture, till the earth did blush with the bloud of honesty, that the Sunne for shame did hide himselfe, from so monstrous sight of a cowardly calamity.—It was a most brave sight to see the banners and ensignes streaming in the aire, the glittering of Armour, the variety of colours, the motion of plumes, the forrests of lances, and the thicknesse of shorter weapons, till the silent expedition of the bloudy blast from the murdering Ordnance, whose roaring voice is not so soone heard, as felt by the aymed at object, which made among them a most lamentable slaughter.

CHAP. XI.

The names of the English *that were slaine in the battell of* Rottenton; *and how Captaine* Smith *is taken prisoner; and sold for a slave.*

In the valley of *Veristhorne*, betwixt the riuer of *Altus*, and the mountaine of *Rottenton*; was this bloudy encounter, where the most of the dearest friends of the noble Prince *Sigismundus* perished. *Meldritch* having ordered his eleven thousand in the best manner he could; at the foot of the mountaine upon his flancks, and before his front, he had pitched sharpe stakes, their heads hardened in the fire, and bent against the enemie, as three battalion of Pikes, amongst the which also there was digged many small holes. Amongst those stakes was ranged his footmen, that upon the charge was to retire, as there was occasion. The *Tartar* having ordered his 40000. for his best advantage, appointed *Mustapha Bashaw* to beginne the battell, with a generall shout, all their Ensignes displaying, Drummes beating, Trumpets and Howboyes sounding. *Nederspolt* and *Mavazo* with their Regiments of horse most valiantly encountred, and forced them to retire: the *Tartar Begolgi* with his Squadrons, darkening the skies with their flights of numberles arrowes, who was as bravely encountred by *Veltus* and *Oberwin*, which bloudie slaughter continued more than an houre, till

the matchlesse multitude of the *Tartars* so increased, that they retired within their Squadrons of stakes as was directed. The bloudy *Tartar*, as scorning he should stay so long for the victorie, with his massie troopes prosecuted the charge: but it was a wonder to see how horse and man came to the ground among the stakes, whose disordered troopes were so mangled, that the *Christians* with a loud shout cryed *Victoria;* and with five or six field peeces, planted vpon the rising of a mountaine, did much hurt to the enemy that still continued the battell with that furie, that *Meldritch* seeing there was no possibilitie long to preuaile, ioyned his small troopes in one body, resolued directly to make his passage or die in the conclusion; and thus in grosse gaue a general charge, and for more than half an houre made his way plaine before him, till the maine battel of the *Crym-Tartar* with two Regiments of *Turkes* and *Ianizaries* so overmatched them, that they were overthrowen. The night approaching, the Earle with some thirteene or fourteene hundred horse, swamme the River, some were drowned, all the rest slaine or taken prisoners: And thus in this bloudy field, neere 30000. lay, some headlesse, armelesse and leglesse, all cut and mangled; where breathing their last, they gaue this knowledge to the world, that for the liues of so few, the *Crym-Tartar* neuer paid dearer. But now the Countreyes of *Transilvania* and *Wallachia*, (subjected to the Emperour) and *Sigismundus* that brave Prince his subject and Pensioner, the most of his Nobilitie, brave Captaines and Souldiers, became a prey to the cruell devouring *Turke:* where had the Emperour been as ready to have assisted him, and those three Armies led by three such worthy Captaines, as *Michael*, *Busca*, and Himselfe, and had those three Armies joyned together against the *Turke*, let all men judge, how happie it might have beene for all Christendome: and have either regained *Bulgaria*, or at least have beat him out of *Hungaria*, where hee hath taken much more from the Emperour, than hath the Emperour from *Transilvania*.*

In this dismall battell, where *Nederspolt*, *Veltus*, *Zarvana*, *Mavazo*, *Bavell*, and many other Earles, Barons, Colonels, Captaines, brave Gentlemen, and Souldiers were slaine—

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* Extracted out of a Booke intituled, The warres of *Hungaria*, *Wallachia* and *Moldavia*, written by *Francisco Ferneza*, a learned Italian, the Princes Secretarie, and translated by Mr *Purchas*.

Give mee leave to remember the names of our owne Country-men with him in those exploits, that as resolutely as the best in the defence of *Christ* and his Gospell, ended their dayes, as *Baskerfield*, *Hardwicke*, *Thomas Milemer*, *Robert Mullineux*, *Thomas Bishop*, *Francis Compton*, *George Davison*, *Nicholas Williams*, and one *Iohn* a Scot, did what men could doe, and when they could doe no more, left there their bodies in testimonie of their mindes; only Ensigne *Carleton* and Sergeant *Robinson* escaped: but *Smith* among the slaughtered dead bodies, and many a gasping soule, with toile and wounds lay groaning among the rest, till being found by the Pillagers hee was able to live, and perceiving by his armor and habit, his ransome might be better to them, than his death, they led him prisoner with many others: well they used him till his wounds were cured, and at *Axopolis* they were all sold for slaves, like beasts in a market-place, where everie Merchant, viewing their limbs and wounds, caused other slaves to struggle with them, to trie their strength, hee fell to the share of *Bashaw Bogall*, who sent him forthwith to *Adrinopolis*, so for *Constantinople* to his faire Mistresse for a slave. By twentie and twentie chained by the neckes, they marched in file to this great Citie, where they were delivered to their several Masters. and he to the young *Charatza Tragabigzanda*.

CHAP. XII.

How Captaine Smith *was sent prisoner thorow the* Blacke *and* Dissabacca *Sea in* Tartaria; *the description of those Seas. and his usage.*

This Noble Gentlewoman tooke sometime occasion to shew him to some friends, or rather to speake with him, because shee could speake Italian, would feigne her selfe sick when she should goe to the *Banians*, or weepe over the graves, to know how *Bogall* tooke him prisoner; and if he were as the *Bashaw* writ to her, a *Bohemian* Lord conquered by his hand, as hee had many others, which ere long hee

would present her, whose ransomes should adorne her with the glorie of his conquests.

But when she heard him protest he knew no such matter, nor ever saw *Bogall* till he bought him at *Axopolis*, and that hee was an *English-man*, onely by his adventures made a Captaine in those Countreyes. To trie the truth, shee found means to finde out many could speake English, French, Dutch, and Italian, to whom relating most part of these former passages he thought necessarie, which they so honestly reported to her, she tooke (as it seemed) much compassion on him; but having no use for him, lest her mother should sell him, she sent him to her brother, the *Tymor Bashaw* of *Nalbrits*, in the Countrey of *Cambia*, a Province in *Tartaria*.

Here now let us remember his passing in this speculative course from *Constantinople* by *Sander*, *Screwe*, *Panassa*, *Musa*, *Lastilla*, to *Varna*, an ancient Citie upon the Blacke Sea. In all which journey, having little more libertie, than his eyes judgment since his captivitie, he might see the Townes with their short Towers, and a most plaine, fertile, and delicate Countrey, especially that most admired place of *Greece*, now called *Romania*, but from *Varna*, nothing but the Blacke Sea water, till he came to the two Capes of *Taur* and *Pergilos*, where hee passed the Straight of *Niger*, which (as he conjectured) is some ten leagues long, and three broad, betwixt two low lands, the Channell is deepe, but at the entrance of the Sea *Dissabacca*, there are many great Osie-shoulds, and many great blacke rockes, which the *Turkes* said were trees, weeds, and mud, throwen from the in-land Countryes, by the inundations and violence of the Current, and cast there by the Eddy. They sayled by many low Iles, and saw many more of those muddy rockes, and nothing else, but salt water, till they came betwixt *Susax* and *Curuske*, only two white townes at the entrance of the river *Bruapo* appeared: In six or seven dayes saile, he saw foure or five seeming strong castles of stone, with flat tops and battlements about them, but arriving at *Cambia*, he was (according to their custome) well used. The river was there more than halfe a mile broad. The Castle was of a large circumference, fourteene or fifteene foot thick, in the foundation some six foot from the wall, is a Pallizado, and then a ditch of about fortie foot broad full of water. On the west side of it, is a Towne all of low flat houses, which as he conceived could bee of no

great strength, yet it keepes all them barbarous Countreyes about it in admiration and subjection. After he had stayed there three days: it was two dayes more before his guides brought him to *Nalbrits*, where the *Tymor* then was resident, in a great vast stonie Castle with many great Courts about it, invironed with high stone wals, where was quartered their Armes, when they first subjected those Countreyes, which only live to labour for those tyrannicall *Turkes*.

To her unkinde brother, this kinde ladie writ so much for his good usage, that hee halfe suspected, as much as she intended; for shee told him, he should there but sojourne to learne the language, and what it was to be a *Turke*, till time made her Master of her selfe. But the *Tymor* her brother, diverted all this to the worst of crueltie, for within an houre after his arrivall, he caused his *Drub-man* to strip him naked, and shave his head and beard so bare as his hand, a great ring of iron, with a long stalke bowed like a sickle, rivetted about his necke, and a coat made of Vlgries haire, guarded about with a peece of an undrest skinne. There were many more Christian slaves, and neere an hundred *Forsados* of *Turkes* and *Moores*, and he being the last, was slave of slaves to them all. Among these slavish fortunes there was no great choice; for the best was so bad, a dog could hardly have lived to endure, and yet for all their paines and labours no more regarded than a beast.

CHAP. XIII.

The Turkes *diet; the Slaves diet; the attire of the* Tartars; *and manner of Warres and Religions, &c.*

The *Tymor* and his friends fed upon Pillaw, which is boiled Rice and Garnances, with little bits of mutton or Buckones, which is rosted peeces of Horse, Bull, Vlgrie, or any beasts. *Samboyses* and *Muselbits* are great dainties, and yet but round pies, full of all sorts of flesh they can get chopped with variety of herbs. Their best drink is *Coffa*, of a graine they call *Coava*, boiled with water; and *Sherbecke*, which is only honey and water; Mares milke, or the milke of any

beast, they hold restorative: but all the Comminaltie drinke pure water. Their bread is made of this *Couva*, which is a kinde of blacke wheat, and *Cuskus* a small white seed like *Millia* in *Biskay:* but our common victuall, the entrailes of Horse and Vlgries; of this cut in small peeces, they will fill a great Cauldron, and being boiled with *Cuskus*, and put in great bowles in the forme of chaffing-dishes, they sit round about it on the ground, after they haue raked it thorow so oft as they please with their foule fists, the remainder was for the *Christian* slaves. Some of this broth they would temper with *Cuskus* pounded, and putting the fire off from the hearth, powre there a bowle full, then cover it with coales till it be baked, which stewed with the remainder of the broth, and some small peeces of flesh, was an extraordinary daintie.

The better sort are attired like *Turkes*, but the plaine *Tartar* hath a blacke sheepe skinne over his backe, and two of the legs tied about his necke; the other two about his middle, with another over his belly, and the legs tied in the like manner behinde him: then two more made like a paire of bases, serveth him for breeches; with a little close cap to his skull of blacke felt, and they use exceeding much of this felt, for carpets, for bedding, for Coats, and Idols. Their houses are much worse than your *Irish*, but the In-land Countreyes have none but Carts and Tents, which they ever remove from Countrey to Countrey, as they see occasion, driving with them infinite troopes of blacke sheepe, Cattell and Vlgries, eating all vp before them, as they goe.

For the *Tartars* of *Nagi*, they have neither Towne, nor house, corne, nor drinke; but flesh and milke. The milke they keep in great skinnes like *Burracho's*, which though it be never so sower, it agreeth well with their strong stomackes. They live all in *Hordias*, as doth the *Crim-Tartars*, three or foure hundred in a company, in great Carts fifteene or sixteene foot broad, which is covered with small rods, wattled together in the forme of a birds nest turned vpwards, and with the ashes of bones tempered with oile, Camels haire, and a clay they have, they lome them so well, that no weather will pierce them, and yet verie light. Each *Hordia* hath a *Murse*, which they obey as their King. Their Gods are infinite. One or two thousand of those glittering white Carts drawen with Camels, Deere, Buls, and Vlgries, they bring round in a ring, where they pitch their Campe; and the

Murse, with his chiefe alliances, are placed in the midst.—They doe much hurt when they can get any *Stroggs*, which are great boats used upon the river *Volga*, (which they call *Edle*) to them that dwell in the Countrey of *Perolog*, and would doe much more, were it not for the *Muscovites* Garrisons that there inhabit.

CHAP. XIIII.

The description of the Crym-Tartars; *their houses and carts; their Idolatry in their lodgings.*

Now you are to understand, *Tartary and Scythia* are all one, but so large and spacious, few or none could ever perfectly describe it, nor all the severall kinds of those most barbarous people that inhabit it. Those we call the *Crym-Tartars*, border upon *Moldavia, Podolia, Lituania*, and *Russia*, are much more regular than the interior parts of *Scythia*.—This great *Tartarian* Prince, that hath so troubled all his neighbours, they alwayes call *Chan*, which signifieth Emperour; but we, the *Crym-Tartar*. He liveth for most part in the best champion plaines of many provinces; and his removing Court is like a great Citie of houses and tents, drawne on Carts, all so orderly placed East and West, on the right and left hand of the Prince his house, which is alwayes in the midst towards the South, before which none may pitch their houses, every one knowing their order and quarter, as in an Armie. The Princes houses are very artificially wrought, both the foundation, sides, and roofe of wickers, ascending round to the top like a Dove-coat; this they cover with white felt, or white earth tempered with the powder of bones, that it may shine the whiter; sometimes with blacke felt, curiously painted with vines, trees, birds, and beasts: the breadth of the Carts are eighteene or twenty foot, but the house stretcheth foure or five foot over each side, and is drawne with ten or twelve, or for more state, twenty Camels and Oxen. They have also great baskets, made of smaller wickers like great chests, with a covering of the same, all covered over with blacke felt, rubbed over with tallow and sheeps milke to keepe out the raine: prettily bedecked with painting or feathers; in

those they put their household stuffe and treasure, drawne upon other carts for that purpose. When they take downe their houses, they set the doore alwayes towards the South, and their carts thirtie or fortie foot distant on each side, East and West, as if they were two walls: the women also have most curious carts; every one of his wives hath a great one for herselfe, and so many other for her attendants, that they seeme as many Courts, as he hath wives. One great *Tartar* or Nobleman, will have for his particular, more than an hundred of those houses and carts, for his severall offices and uses, but set so farre from each other, they will seeme like a great village. Having taken their houses from the carts, they place the Master alwayes towards the North; over whose head is alwayes an Image like a Puppet, made of felt, which they call his brother: the women on his left hand, and over the chiefe Mistris her head, such another brother, and betweene them a little one, which is the keeper of the house: at the good wives beds-feet is a kids skinne, stuffed with wooll, and neere it a Puppet looking towards the Maids; next the doore another, with a dried cowes udder, for the women that milke the kine, because only the men milke mares: every morning those Images in their orders they besprinkle with that they drinke, be it Cossmos or whatsoever, but all the white mares milke is reserved for the Prince. Then without the doore, thrice to the South, every one bowing his knee in honour of the fire: then the like to the East, in honour of the aire; then to the West, in honour of the water; and lastly to the North, in behalfe of the dead. After the servant hath done this duty to the foure quarters of the world, he returnes into the house, where his fellowes stand waiting, ready with two cups and two basons to give their master, and his wife that lay with him that night, to wash and drinke, who must keepe him company all the day following; and all his other wives come thither to drinke, where he keepes his house that day; and all the gifts presented to him till night, are laid vp in her chests: and at the doore a bench full of cups, and drinke for any of them to make merry.

CHAP. XV.

Their feasts; common diet; Princes estate; buildings; tributes; lawes; slaves; entertainment of Ambassadours.

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For their feasts they have all sorts of beasts, birds, fish, fruits, and hearbs they can get, but the more variety of wilde ones is the best; to which they have excellent drinke made of rice, millet, and honey, like wine; they have also wine, but in Summer they drinke most Cossmos, that standeth ready alwayes at the entrance of the doore, and by it a fidler; when the master of the house beginneth to drinke, they all cry, ha, ha, and the fidler playes, then they all clap their hands and dance, the men before their Masters, the women before their Mistresses; and ever when he drinks, they cry as before; then the fidler stayeth till they drinke all round; sometimes they will drinke for the victory; and to provoke one to drinke, they will pull him by the ears, and lugge and draw him, to stretch and heat him, clapping their hands, stamping with their feet, and dancing before the champions, offering them cups, then draw them backe againe to increase their appetite; and thus continue till they be drunke, or their drinke done, which they hold an honour, and no infirmity.

Though the ground be fertile, they sow little corne, yet the Gentlemen have bread and hony-wine; grapes they have plenty, and wine privately, and good flesh and fish; but the common sort, stamped millet, mingled with milke and water. They call Cassa for meat, and drinke any thing; also any beast unprofitable for service they kill, when they are like to die, or however they die, they will eat them, guts liver and all; but the most fleshy parts they cut in thinne slices, and hang it up in the Sunne and wind without salting, where it will drie so hard, it will not putrifie in a long time. A Ramme they esteeme a great feast among fortie or fiftie, which they cut in peeces boiled or roast, puts it in a great bowle with salt and water, for other sauce they have none; the master of the feast giveth every one a peece, which he eateth by himselfe, or carrieth away with him. Thus their hard fare makes them so infinite in Cattell, and their great number of captived women to breed vpon, makes them so populous.—

But neere the Christian frontiers, the baser sort make little cottages of wood, called *Vlusi*, daubed over with durt, and beasts dung covered with sedge: yet in summer they leave them, beginning their progresse in Aprill, with their wives, children, and slaves, in their carted houses, scarce convenient for foure or five persons; driving their flocks towards *Perecopya*, and sometimes into *Taurica*, or *Osow*, a towne upon the river *Tanais*, which is great and swift, where the *Turke* hath a garrison: and in October returne againe to their Cottages. Their Clothes are the skinnes of dogges, goats, and sheepe, lined with cotton cloath, made of their finest wooll, for of their worst they make their felt, which they use in aboundance, as well for shooes and caps, as houses, beds, and Idolls; also of the coarse wooll mingled with horse haire, they make all their cordage. Notwithstanding this wandering life, their Princes sit in great state upon beds, or carpits, and with great reverence are attended both by men and women, and richly served in plate, and great silver cups, delivered upon the knee, attired in rich furres, lined with plush, or taffity, or robes of tissue. These *Tartars* possesse many large and goodly plaines, wherein feed innumerable herds of horse and cattell, as well wilde as tame; which are Elkes, Bisones. Horses, Deere, Sheepe, Goates, Swine, Beares, and divers others.

In those countries are the ruines of many faire Monasteries, Castles, and Cities, as *Bacasaray. Salutium*, *Almassary*, *Perccopya*, *Cremum*, *Sedacom*, *Capha*. and divers others by the Sea, but all kept with strong garrisons for the great *Turke*, who yearely by trade or trafficke, receiveth the chiefe commodities those fertile countries afford, as Bezer, Rice, Furres, Hides, Butter, Salt, Cattell, and Slaves, yet by the spoiles they get from the secure and idle *Christians*, they maintaine themselves in this Pompe. Also their wives, of whom they have as many as they will, very costly, yet in a constant custome with decency.

They are *Mahometans*, as are the *Turks*, from whom also they have their Lawes, but no Lawyers, nor Attournies, onely Iudges, and Iustices in every Village, or Hordia; but captall criminalls, or matters of moment, before the Chan himselfe, or Priuie Counsells, of whom they are alwayes heard, and speedily discharged; for any may have accesse at any time to them, before whom they appeare with great reverence,

adoring their Princes as Gods, and their spirituall Iudges as Saints; for Iustice is with such integrity and expedition executed, without covetousnesse, bribery, partiality, and brawling, that in six moneths they have sometimes scarce six causes to heare. About the Princes court none but his guard weares any weapon, but abroad they goe very strong, because there are many bandytos, and Theeves.

They use the *Hungarians*, *Russians*, *Wallachians*, and *Moldavian* slaves (whereof they have plenty) as beasts to every worke; and those *Tartars* that serve the Chan, or noblemen, have only victuall and apparell, the rest are generally nasty, and idle, naturally miserable, and in their warres better theeves than souldiers.

This *Chan* hath yeerely a Donative from the King of *Poland*, the Dukes of *Lituania*, *Moldavia*, and *Nagagon Tartars;* their Messengers commonly he useth bountifully, and verie nobly, but sometimes most cruelly; when any of them doth bring their Presents, by his household Officers they are entertained in a plaine field, with a moderate proportion of flesh, bread and wine, for once; but when they come before him, the *Saltaines*, *Tuians*, *Vlans*, *Marhies*, his chiefe Officers and Councellors attend, one man only bringeth the Ambassadour to the Court gate, but to the *Chan* he is led betweene two Councellors; where saluting him upon their bended knees, declaring their message, are admitted to eat with him, and presented with a great silver cup full of Mead from his owne hand, but they drinke it upon their knees: when they are dispatched, he invites them againe, the feast ended, they go backe a little from the Palace doore, and rewarded with silke Vestures wrought with gold downe to their anckles, with an horse or two, and sometimes a slave of their own Nation; in them robes presently they come to him againe, to give him thankes, take their leave, and so depart.

CHAP. XVI.

How he levieth an Armie; their Armes and Provision how he divideth the spoile; and his service to th Great Turke.

When he intends any warres, he must first have leave o the Great *Turke*, whom he is bound to assist when hee commandeth, receiving daily for himselfe and chiefe of his Nobilitie, pensions from the *Turke*, that holds all Kings bu slaves, that pay tribute or are subject to any: signifying hi intent to all his subjects, within a moneth commonly he raiseth his Armie, and everie man is to furnish himselfe for thre moneths victuals, which is parched *Millet*, or grownd t meale, which they ordinarily mingle with water (as is said hard cheese or cruds dried. and beaten to powder, a little wil make much water like milke, and dried flesh, this they pu also up in sackes: The *Chan* and his Nobles have some breac and *Aquavitæ*, and quicke cattell to kill when they please, wherewith verie sparingly they are contented. Being provided with expert Guides, and got into the countrey he intends to invade, he sends forth his Scouts to bring in what prisoners they can, from whom he will wrest the utmost of their knowledge fit for his purpose: having advised with his Councell, what is most fit to be done, the Nobilitie, according to their antiquitie, doth march; then moves he with his whole Armie: if hee finde there is no enemie to oppose him, he adviseth how farre they shall invade, commanding everie man (upon paine of his life) to kill all the obvious Rusticks; but not to hurt any women, or children.

Ten, or fifteene thousand, he commonly placeth, where hee findeth most convenient for his standing Campe; the rest of his Armie hee divides in severall troops, bearing ten or twelve miles square before them, and ever within three or foure dayes returne to their Campe, putting all to fire and sword, but that they carrie with them backe to their Campe; and in this scattering manner he will invade a Countrey, and be gone with his prey, with an incredible expedition. But if he understand of an enemie, he will either fight in Ambuscado, or flie; for he will never fight any battell if he can chuse, but upon treble advantage; yet by his innumerable flights of

arrowes, I have seene flie from his flying troopes, we could not well judge, whether his fighting or flying was most dangerous, so good is his horse, and so expert his bowmen; but if they be so entangled they must fight, there is none can bee more hardy, or resolute in their defences.

Regaining his owne borders, he takes the tenth of the principall captives, man, woman, childe, or beast (but his captaines that take them, will accept of some particular person they best like for themselves) the rest are divided amongst the whole Armie, according to every mans desert, and quality; that they keepe them, or sell them to who will give most; but they will not forget to use all the meanes they can. to know their estates, friends and quality, and the better they finde you, the worse they will use you, till you doe agree to pay such a ransome, as they will impose upon you; therefore many great persons have endured much misery to conceale themselves, because their ransomes are so intolerable: their best hope is of some *Christian* Agent, that many times commeth to redeeme slaves, either with money, or man for man; those Agents knowing so well the extreme covetousnesse of the *Tartars*, doe use to bribe some Iew or Merchant, that feigning they will sell them againe to some other nation, are oft redeemed for a very small ransome.

But to this *Tartarian* Armie, when the *Turke* commands, he goeth with some small artillery; and the *Nagagians*, *Perecopens*, *Crimes*, *Osovens*, and *Cersessians*, are his tributaries; but the *Petigorces*, *Oczaconians*. *Byalogordens*, and *Dobrucen Tartars*, the *Turke* by covenant commands to follow him, so that from all those *Tartars* he hath had an Army of an hundred and twenty thousand excellent, swift, stomackfull *Tartarian* horse, for foot they have none. Now the Chan, his Sultaines and nobility, use *Turkish*, *Caramanian*, *Arabian*, *Parthian*, and other strange *Tartarian* horses; the swiftest they esteeme the best; seldome they feede any more at home, than they have present use for; but upon their plaines is a short wodde like heath, in some countries like gaile, full of berries, farre much better than any grasse.

Their Armes are such as they have surprised or got from the *Christians* or *Persians*, both brest-plates, swords, semiteres, and helmets; bowes and arrowes they make most themselves, also their bridles and saddles are indifferent, but the nobility are very handsome, and well armed like the

Turkes, in whom consisteth their greatest glory; the ordinary sort have little armor, some a plaine young pole unshaven, headed with a peece of iron for a lance; some an old *Christian* pike, or a *Turks* cavarine; yet those tattertimallions will have two or three horses, some foure or five, as well for service, as for to eat; which makes their Armies seem thrice so many as there are souldiers. The *Chan* himselfe hath about his person ten thousand chosen *Tartars* and *Janizaries*, some small Ordnance, and a white mares taile, with a peece of greene taffity on a great Pike, is carried before him for a standard; because they hold no beast so precious as a white mare, whose milke is onely for the King and nobility, and to sacrifice to their Idolls; but the rest have ensignes of divers colours.

For all this miserable knowledge, furniture, and equipage, the mischiefe they doe in *Christendome* is wonderful, by reason of their hardnesse of life and constitution, obedience, agilitie, and their Emperours bountie, honours, grace, and dignities he ever bestoweth upon those that have done him any memorable service in the face of his enemies.

The *Caspian* Sea, most men agree that have passed it, to be in length about 200. leagues, and in breadth an hundred and fifty, environed to the East, with the great desarts of the *Tartars* of *Turkamane*; to the West, by the *Circasses*, and the mountaine *Caucasus;* to the North, by the river *Volga*, and the land of *Nagay;* and to the South, by *Media*, and *Persia:* this sea is fresh water in many places, in others as salt as the great Ocean; it hath many great rivers which fall into it, as the mighty river of *Volga*, which is like a sea, running neere two thousand miles, through many great and large Countries, that send into it many other great rivers; also out of *Suberya*, *Yaick*, and *Yem*, out of the great mountaine *Caucasus*, the river *Sirus*, *Arash*, and divers others, yet no Sea neerer it than the blacke Sea, which is at least an hundred leagues distant: in which Country live the *Georgians*, now part *Armenians*, part *Nestorians;* it is neither found to increase or diminish, or empty it selfe any way, except it be under ground, and in some places they can finde no ground at two hundred fadome.

Many other most strange and wonderfull things are in the land of *Cathay* towards the North-east, and *Chyna* towards the South-east, where are many of the most famous Kingdomes

in the world; where most arts, plenty, and curiosities are in such abundance, as might seeme incredible, which hereafter I will relate, as I have briefly gathered from such authors as have lived there.

CHAP. XVII.

How captaine Smith *escaped captivity; slew the* Bashaw *of* Nalbrits *in* Cambia: *his passage to* Russia, Transilvania, *and the middest of* Europe *to* Affrica.

All the hope he had ever to be delivered from this thraldome, was only the love of *Tragabigzanda*, who surely was ignorant of his bad usage: for although he had often debated the matter with some *Christians*, that had beene there a long time slaves, they could not finde how to make an escape, by any reason or possibility; but God beyond mans expectation or imagination helpeth his servants, when they least thinke of helpe, as it hapned to him. So long he lived in this miserable estate, as he became a thresher at a grange in a great field, more than a league from the *Tymors* house; the *Bashaw* as he oft used to visit his granges, visited him, and tooke occasion so to beat, spurne, and revile him, that forgetting all reason, he beat out the *Tymors* braines with his threshing bat, for they have no flailes; and seeing his estate could be no worse than it was, clothed himselfe in his clothes, hid his body under the straw, filled his knapsacke with corne, shut the doores, mounted his horse, and ranne into the desart at all adventure; two or three dayes thus fearfully wandring he knew not whither, and well it was he met not any to aske the way; being even as taking leave of this miserable world. God did direct him to the great way or Castragan, as they call it, which doth crosse these large territories, and generally knowne among them by these marks.

In every crossing of this great way is planted a post, and in it so many bobs with broad ends, as there be wayes, and every bob the figure painted on it, that demonstrateth to what part that way leadeth; as that which pointeth towards the *Cryms* Country, is marked with a halfe Moone, if towards

the *Georgians* and *Persia*, a blacke man, full of white spots, if towards *China*, the picture of the Sunne, if towards *Muscovia*, the signe of a Crosse, if towards the habitation of any other Prince, the figure whereby his standard is knowne.—To his dying spirits thus God added some comfort in this melancholy journey, wherein if he had met any of that vilde generation, they had made him their slave, or knowing the figure engraven in the iron about his necke, (as all slaves have) he had beene sent backe againe to his master; sixteene dayes he travelled in this feare and torment, after the Crosse, till he arrived at *Æcopolis*, upon the river *Don*, a garrison of the *Muscovites*. The governour after due examination of those his hard events, tooke off his irons, and so kindly used him, he thought himselfe new risen from death, and the good Lady *Callamata*, largely supplied all his wants.

This is as much as he could learne of those wilde Countries, that the Country of *Cambia* is two dayes journey from the head of the great river *Bruapo*, which springeth from many places of the mountaines of *Innagachi*, that joyne themselves together in the Poole *Kerkas*: which they account for the head, and falleth into the Sea *Dissabacca*, called by some the lake *Meotis*, which receiveth also the river *Tanais*, and all the rivers that fall from the great Countries of the *Circassi*, the *Cartaches*, and many from the *Tauricaes*, *Precopes*, *Cummani*, *Cossunka*, and the *Cryme*; through which Sea he sailed, and up the river *Bruapo* to *Nalbrits*, and thence through the desarts of *Circassi* to *Æcoplis*, as is related; where he stayed with the Governour, till the Convoy went to *Coragnaw*: then with his certificate how hee found him, and had examined with his friendly letters sent him by *Zumalacke* to *Caragnaw*, whose Governour in like manner so kindly use him, that by this meanes he went with a safe conduct to *Letch*, and *Donka*, in *Cologoske*, and thence to *Berniske*, and *Newgrod*, in *Seberia*, by *Rezechica*, upon the river *Niper*, in the confines of *Lituania*: from whence with as much kindnesse he was convoyed in like manner by *Coroski*, *Duberesko*, *Duzibell*, *Drohobus*, and *Ostroge* in *Volonia*; *Saslaw* and *Lasco* in *Podolia*: *Halico* and *Collonia* in *Polonia*; and so to *Hirmonistat* in *Transilvania*. In all his life he seldome met with more respect, mirth, content, and entertainment; and not any Governour where he came, but gave him somewhat as a present, besides his charges; seeing

themselves as subject to the like calamity. Through those poore continually forraged Countries there is no passage, but with the Carravans or Convoyes; for they are Countries rather to be pitied, than envied: and it is a wonder any should make warres for them. The Villages are onely here and there a few houses of straight Firre trees, laid heads and points above one another, made fast by notches at the ends more than a mans height, and with broad split boards, pinned together with woodden pinnes, as thatched for coverture. In ten Villages you shall scarce finde ten iron nailes, except it be in some extraordinary mans house. For their Townes *Æcopolis*, *Letch*, and *Donko*, have rampiers made of that woodden walled fashion, double, and betwixt them earth and stones, but so latched with crosse timber, they are very strong against any thing but fire: and about them a deepe ditch, and a Palizado of young Firre trees: but most of the rest have only a great ditch cast about them, and the ditches earth is all their rampier; but round well environed with Palizadoes.—Some have some few small peeces of small Ordnance, and slings, calievers, and muskets, but their generallest weapons are the *Russe* bowes and arrowes; you shall find pavements over bogges, onely of young Firre trees laid crosse one over another, for two or three houres journey, or as the passage requires, and yet in two dayes travell you shall scarce see six habitations. Notwithstanding to see how their Lords, Governours, and Captaines are civilized, well attired and acoutred with Jewells, Sables, and Horses, and after their manner with curious furniture, it is wonderfull; but they are all Lords or slaves, which makes them so subject to every invasion.

In *Transilvania* he found so many good friends, that but to see, and rejoyce himselfe (after all those encounters) in his native Country, he would ever hardly have left them, though the mirrour of vertue their Prince was absent. Being thus glutted with content, and neere drowned with joy, he passed high *Hungaria* by *Filcck*, *Tocka*, *Cassovia*, and *Underoroway*, by *Vlmicht* in *Moravia*, to *Prague* in *Bohemia*; at last he found the most gracious Prince *Sigismundus*, with his Colonell at *Lipswick* in *Misenland*, who gave him his Passe, intimating the service he had done, and the honours he had received, with fifteene hundred ducats of gold to repaire his losses: with this he spent some time to visit the faire Cities

and Countries of *Drasdon* in *Saxonie*, *Magdaburgh* and *Brunswicke; Cassell* in *Hessen: Wittenberg*, *Vllum*, and *Minikin* in *Bavaria; Aughsbrough*, and her Vniversities; *Hama*, *Franckford*, *Mentz*, the *Palatinate; Wormes*, *Speyre*, and *Strausborough;* passing *Nancie* in *Loraine*, and *France* by *Paris* to *Orleans*, hee went downe the river of *Loyer*, to *Angiers*, and imbarked himselfe at *Nantz* in *Britanny*, for *Bilbao* in *Biskay*, to see *Burgos-Valiadolid*, the admired monasterie of the *Escuriall*, *Madrill*, *Toledo*, *Cordua*, *Cuedyriall*, *Cirill*, *Cheryes*, *Cales*, and Saint *Lucas*, in *Spaine*.

CHAP. XVIII.

The observations of Captaine Smith; *Mr.* Henrie Archer *and others in* Barbarie.

Being thus satisfied with *Europe* and *Asia*, understanding of the warres in *Barbarie*, hee went from *Gibralter* to *Guta* and *Tanger*, thence to *Saffee*, where growing into acquaintance with a French man of warre, the Captaine and some twelve more went to *Morocco*, to see the ancient monuments of that large renowned Citie: it was once the principall Citie in *Barbarie*, situated in a goodly plaine Countrey, 14. miles from the great Mount *Atlus*, and sixtie miles from the *Atlanticke* Sea: but now little remaining, but the Kings Palace, which is like a Citie of it selfe, and the *Christian* Church, on whose flat square steeple is a great brouch of iron, whereon is placed the three golden bals of *Affrica:* the first is neere three Ells in circumference, the next above it somewhat lesse, the uppermost the least over them, as it were an halfe Ball, and over all a prettie guilded *Pyramides*. Against those golden Bals hath been shot many a shot, their weight is recorded 700. weight of pure gold, hollow within, yet no shot did ever hit them, nor could ever any Conspirator attaine that honor as to get them downe. They report the Prince of *Morocco* betrothed himselfe to the Kings Daughter of *Æthiopia*, he dying before their mariage, she caused those three golden Balls to be set up for his Monument, and vowed virginitie all her life. The *Alfantica* is also a place of note,

because it is invironed with a great wall, wherein lye the goods of all the Merchants securely guarded. The *Iuderea* is also (as it were) a Citie of it selfe, where dwell the Iewes: the rest for the most part is defaced: but by the many pinnacles and towers, with Balls on their tops, hath much appearance of much sumptuousnesse and curiositie. There have been many famous Universities, which are now but stables for Fowles and Beasts, and the houses in most parts lye tumbled one above another; the walls of Earth are with the great fresh floods washed to the ground; nor is there any village in it, but tents for Strangers, *Larbes* and *Moores*. Strange tales they will tell of a great Garden, wherein were all sorts of Birds, Fishes, Beasts, Fruits, and Fountaines, which for beautie, Art and pleasure, exceeded any place knowne in the world, though now nothing but dung-hils, Pigeon-houses, shrubs and bushes. There are yet many excellent fountaines adorned with marble, and many arches, pillers, towers, ports and Temples; but most only reliques of lamentable ruines and sad desolution.

When *Mully Hamet* reigned in *Barbarie*, hee had three sonnes, *Mully Shecke*, *Mully Sidan*, and *Mully Befferres*, he a most good and noble King, that governed well with peace and plentie, till his Empresse, more cruel than any beast in *Affrica*, poysoned him, her owne daughter, *Mully Shecke* his eldest sonne borne of a Portugall Ladie, and his daughter, to bring *Mully Sidan* to the Crowne now reigning, which was the cause of all those brawles and warres that followed betwixt those Brothers, their children, and a *Saint* that start up, but he played the Devill.

King *Mully Hamet* was not blacke, as many suppose, but *Molata*, or tawnie, as are the most of his subjects; everie way noble, kinde and friendly, verie rich and pompous in State and Majestie, though hee sitteth not upon a Throne nor Chaire of Estate, but crosse legged upon a rich Carpet, as doth the *Turke*, whose Religion of *Mahomet*, with an incredible miserable curiositie they observe. His Ordinarie Guard is at least 5000 but in progresse he goeth not with lesse than 20000. horsemen, himselfe as rich in all his Equipage, as any Prince in Christendome, and yet a Contributor to the *Turke*. In all his Kingdome were so few good Artificers, that hee entertained from *England*, Gold-smiths, Plummers, Carvers, and Polishers of stone, and Watch-makers, so much he

delighted in the reformation of workmanship, hee allowed each of them ten shillings a day standing fee, linnen, woollen, silkes, and what they would for diet and apparell, and custome-free to transport, or import what they would; for there were scarce any of those qualities in his Kingdomes, but those, of which there are divers of them living at this present in *London*. Amongst the rest, one Mr. *Henry Archer*, a Watch-maker, walking in *Morocco*, from the *Alfantica* to the *Iuderea*, the way being verie foule, met a great Priest, or a *Sante* (as they call all great Clergy-men) who would have thurst him into the durt for the way; but *Archer*; not knowing what he was, gave him a box on the eare, presently he was apprehended, and condemned to have his tongue cut out, and his hand cut off: but no sooner it was knowen at the Kings Court, but 300. of his Guard came, and broke open the Prison, and delivered him, although the fact was next degree to treason.

Concerning this *Archer*, there is one thing more worth noting: Not farre from Mount *Atlas*, a great Lionesse in the heat of the day, did use to bathe her selfe, and teach her young Puppies to swimme in the river *Cauzeff*, of a good bredth: yet she would carrie them one after another over the river; which some *Moores* perceiving watched their opportunitie, and when the river was betweene her and them, stole foure of her whelps, which she perceiving, with all the speed shee could passed the river, and comming neere them they let fall a whelpe (and fled with the rest) which she tooke in her mouth, and so returned to the rest: a Male and a Female of those they gave Mr. *Archer*, who kept them in the Kings Garden, till the Male killed the Female, then he brought it up as a Puppy-dog lying upon his bed, till it grew so great as a Mastiffe, and no dog more tame or gentle to them hee knew: but being to returne for *England*, at *Saffee* he gave him to a Merchant of *Marsellis*, that presented him to the French King, who sent him to King *Iames*, where it was kept in the Tower seven yeeres: After one Mr. *Iohn Bull*, then servant to Mr. *Archer*, with divers of his friends, went to see the Lyons, not knowing any thing at all of him; yet this rare beast smelled him before hee saw him, whining, groaning, and tumbling, with such an expression of acquaintance, that being informed by the Keepers how he came thither: Mr. *Bull* so prevailed. the Keeper opened the grate, and *Bull*

went in: But no Dogge could fawne more on his Master, than the Lyon on him, licking his feet, hands, and face, skipping and tumbling to and fro, to the wonder of all the beholders; being satisfied with his acquaintance, he made shift to get out of the grate. But when the Lyon saw his friend gone, no beast by bellowing, roaring, scratching, and howling, could expresse more rage and sorrow, nor in foure dayes after would he either eat or drinke.

In *Morocco*, the Kings Lyons are all together in a Court, invironed with a great high wall; to those they put a young Puppy-dogge: the greatest Lyon had a sore upon his necke, which this Dogge so licked that he was healed: the Lyon defended him from the furie of the rest, nor durst they eat till the Dogge and he had fed; this Dog grew great, and lived amongst them many yeers after.

Fez also is a most large and plentifull countrey, the chiefe Citie is called *Fez*, divided into two parts: old *Fez*, containing about 80. thousand households, the other 4000. pleasantly situated vpon a River in the heart of *Barbarie*, part upon hils, part upon plaines, full of people, and all sorts of Merchandise. The great Temple is called *Carucer*, in bredth seventeene Arches, in length 120. borne up with 2500. white marble pillars: under the chiefe Arch, where the Tribunall is kept, hangeth a most huge lampe, compassed with 110. lesser, under the other also hang great lamps, and about some are burning fifteene hundred lights. They say they were all made of the bels the *Arabians* brought from *Spaine*. It hath three gates of notable height, Priests and Officers so many, that the circuit of the Church, the Yard, and other houses, is little lesse than a mile and an halfe in compasse; there are in this Citie 200. Schooles, 200. Innes, 400. water-miles, 600. water-Conduits, 700. Temples and Oratories; but fiftie of them most stately and richly furnished. Their *Alçazer* or *Burse* is walled about, it hath twelve gates, and fifteen walks covered with tents, to keepe the Sun from the Merchants, and them that come there. The Kings Palace, both for strength and beautie is excellent; and the Citizens have many great privileges. Those two Countreyes of *Fez* and *Morocco*, are the best part of *Barbarie*, abounding with people, cattell, and all good necessaries for mans use. For the rest, as the *Larbes*, or Mountainers, the Kingdomes of *Cocow*, *Algier*, *Tripoly*, *Tunis*, and *Ægypt*; there are many large histories of them in divers

languages, especially that writ by that most excellent Statesman, *Iohn de Leo*, who afterward turned Christian. The unknowen Countries of *Ginny* and *Binne*, this six and twentie yeeres have beene frequented with a few English ships only to trade, especially the river of *Senega*, by Captaine *Brimstead*, Captaine *Brockit*, Mr. *Crump*, and divers others. Also the great river of *Gambra*, by Captaine *Iobson*, who is returned in thither againe in the yeere 1626. with Mr. *William Grent*, and thirteene or fourteene others, to stay in the Countrey, to discover some way to those rich-mines of *Gago* or *Tumbatu*, from whence is supposed the *Moores* of *Barbarie* have their gold, and the certaintie of those supposed descriptions and relations of those interiour parts, which daily the more they are sought into, the more they are corrected. For surely, those interiour parts of *Affrica* are little knowen to either *English*, *French*, or *Dutch*, though they use much the Coast; therefore wee will make a little bold with the observations of the *Portugalls*.

CHAP. XIX.

The strange discoveries and observations of the Portugalls *in* Affrica.

THE *Portugalls* on those parts have the glorie, who first coasting along this Westerne shore of *Affrica*, to finde passage to the *East Indies*, within this hundred and fiftie yeeres, even from the Streights of *Gibralter*, about the Cape of *Bone Esperance* to the *Persian Gulfe*, and thence all along the *Asian* Coast to the *Moluccas*, have subjected many great Kingdomes, erected many Common-wealths, built many great and strong Cities; and where is it they have not beene by trade or force? no not so much as *Cape de Verd*, and *Sermleone*; but most Bayes or Rivers, where there is any trade to bee had, especially gold, or conveniencie for refreshment, but they are scattered; living so amongst those *Blacks*, by time and cunning they seeme to bee naturalized amongst them. As for the Isles of the *Canaries*, they have faire

Townes, many Villages, and many thousands of people rich in commodities.

Ordoardo Lopez, a noble *Portugall*, *Anno Dom.* 1578. imbarquing himselfe for *Congo* to trade, where he found such entertainment, finding the King much oppressed with enemies, hee found means to bring in the *Portugalls* to assist him, whereby he planted there Christian Religion, and spent most of his life to bring those Countreyes to the Crowne of *Portugall*, which he describeth in this manner.

The Kingdome of *Congo* is about 600. miles diameter any way, the chiefe Citie called *St. Savadore*, seated upon an exceeding high mountaine, 150. miles from the Sea, verie fertile, and inhabited with more than 100000. persons, where is an excellent prospect over all the plaine Countreyes about it, well watered, lying (as it were) in the Center of this Kingdome, over all which the *Portugalls* now command, though but an handfull in comparison of *Negroes*. They have flesh and fruits verie plentifull of divers sorts.

This Kingdom is divided into five Provinces, viz. *Bamba*, *Sundi*, *Pango*, *Batta* and *Pembo*; but *Bamba* is the principall, and can affoord 400000. men of warre. Elephants are bred over all those Provinces, and of wonderfull greatnesse; though some report they cannot kneele, nor lye downe, they can doe both, and have their joynts as other creatures for use: with their fore-feet they will leape upon trees to pull downe the boughes, and are of that strength, they will shake a great *Cocar* tree for the nuts, and pull downe a good tree with their tuskes, to get the leaves to eat, as well as sedge and long grasse, *Cocar* nuts and berries, &c. which with their trunke they put in their mouth, and chew it with their smaller teeth; in most of those Provinces, are many rich mines, but the *Negars* opposed the *Portugalls* for working in them.

The Kingdome of *Angola* is wonderfull populous, and rich in mines of silver, copper, and most other mettalls; fruitfull in all manner of food, and sundry sorts of cattell, but dogges flesh they love better than any other meat; they use few clothes, and no Armour; bowes, arrowes, and clubs, are their weapons. But the *Portugalls* are well armed against those engines, and doe buy yearely of the *Blacks* more than five thousand slaves, and many are people exceeding well proportioned.

The *Anchicos* are a most valiant nation, but most strange to all about them. Their Armes are Bowes, short and small, wrapped about with serpents skinnes, of divers colours, but so smooth you would thinke them all one with the wood, and it makes them very strong; their strings are little twigs, but exceeding tough and flexible; their arrows short, which they shoot with an incredible quicknesse. They have short axes of brass and copper for swords; wonderfull loyall and faithfull, and exceeding simple, yet so active, they skip amongst the rockes like goats. They trade with them of *Nubea*, and *Congo*, for *Lamache*, which is a small kind of shell fish, of an excellent azure colour, male and female, but the female they hold most pure; they value them at divers prices, because they are of divers sorts, and those they use for coine, to buy and sell, as we doe gold and silver; nor will they have any other money in all those Countries, for which they give Elephants teeth; and slaves for salt, silke, linnen cloth, glasse-beads, and such like *Portugall* commodities.

They circumcise themselves, and mark their faces with sundry slashes from their infancie. They keepe a shambles of mans flesh, as if it were beefe, or other victuall; for when they cannot have a good market for their slaves; or their enemies they take, they kill, and sell them in this manner; some are so resolute, in shewing how much they scorne death, they will offer themselves and slaves, to this butchery to their Prince and friends; and though there be many nations will eat their enemies, in *America* and *Asia*, yet none but those are knowne to be so mad, as to eat their slaves and friends also.

Religions and idolls they have as many, as nations and humours; but the devill hath the greatest part of their devotions, whom all those *Blacks* doe say is white; for there are no Saints but *Blacks*.

But besides those great Kingdomes of *Congo*, *Angola*, and *Azichi*, in those unfrequented parts are the kingdomes of *Lango*, *Matania*, *Buttua*, *Sofola*, *Mozambeche*, *Quivola*, the Isle of Saint *Laurence*, *Mombazi*, *Melinda*, the Empires of *Monomatopa*, *Monemugi*, and *Presbiter Iohn*, with whom they have a kinde of trade, and their rites, customes, climates, temperatures, and commodities by relation. Also of great Lakes, that deserve the names of Seas, and huge mountaines of divers sorts, as some scorched with heat, some covered

with snow; the mountaines of the Sunne, also of the Moone, some of crystall, some of iron, some of silver, and mountaines of gold, with the originall of *Nilus;* likewise sundry sorts of cattell, fishes, Fowles, strange beasts, and monstrous serpents; for *Affrica* was always noted to be a fruitfull mother of such terrible creatures; who meeting at their watering places, which are but Ponds in desart places, in regard of the heat of the Country, and their extremities of nature, make strange copulations, and so engender those extraordinary monsters. Of all these you may reade in the history of this *Edward Lopez*, translated into English by *Abraham Hartwell*, and dedicated to *Iohn* Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 1597. But because the particulars are most concerning the conversion of those Pagans, by a good pōore Priest, that first converted a Noble man, to convert the King, and the rest of the Nobility; sent for so many Priests and ornaments into *Portugall*, to solemnize their baptismes with such magnificence, which was performed with such strange curiosities, that those poore *Negros* adored them as Gods, till the Priests grew to that wealth, a Bishop was sent to rule over them, which they would not endure, which endangered to spoile all before they could be reconciled. But not to trouble you too long with those rarities of uncertainties; let us returne againe into *Barbary*, where the warres being ended, and *Befferres* possessed of *Morocco*, and his fathers treasure, a new bruit arose amongst them, that *Mully Sidan*, was raising an Armie against him, who after tooke his brother *Befferres* prisoner; but by reason of the uncertainty, and the perfidious, treacherous, bloudy murthers rather than warre, amongst those perfidious, barbarous Moores, *Smith* returned with *Merham*, and the rest to *Saffe*, and so aboard his Ship, to try some other conclusions at Sea.

CHAP. XX.

A brave Sea fight betwixt two Spanish *men of warre, and Captaine* Merham, *with* Smith.

MERHAM a captaine of a man of war then in the Road, invited captaine *Smith*, and two or three more of them aboord with him, where he spared not any thing he had to expresse his kindnesse, to bid them welcome, till it was too late to goe on shore, so that necessitie constrained them to stay aboord; a fairer Evening could not bee, yet ere midnight such a storme did arise, they were forced to let slip Cable, and Anchor, and put to Sea; spooning before the wind, till they were driven to the *Canaries;* in the calmes they accommodated themselves, hoping this strange accident might yet produce some good event; not long it was before they tooke a small Barke comming from *Teneryf*, loaded with Wine; three or foure more they chased, two they tooke, but found little in them, save a few passengers, that told them of five *Dutch* men of warre, about the Isles, so that they stood for *Boyadora*, upon the *Affrican* shore, betwixt which and *Cape Noa*, they descried to saile. *Merham* intending to know what they were, hailed them; very civilly they dansed their topsailes, and desired the man of warre to come aboord them, and take what he would, for they were but two poore distressed *Bickiners*. But *Merham* the old fox, seeing himselfe in the lions pawes, sprung his loufe, the other tacked after him, and came close up to his nether quarter, gave his broad side, and so loufed up to windward: the Vice-Admirall did the like, and at the next bout, the Admirall with a noise of Trumpets, and all his Ordnance, murtherers, and muskets, boorded him on his broad side; the other in like manner on his ley quarter, that it was so darke there was little light, but fire and smoake; long he stayed not, before he fell off, leaving 4. or 5. of his men sprawling over the grating; after they had battered *Merham* about an houre, they boorded him againe as before; and threw foure kedgers or grapnalls in iron chaines; then shearing off they thought so to have torne downe the grating; but the Admiralls yard was so intangled in their shrouds, *Merham* had time to discharge two crosse bare shot amongst them, and divers bolts of iron made for that purpose, against his bow, the

made such a breach, he feared they both should have sunke for company; so that the *Spaniard* was as yare in slipping his chained Grapnalls, as *Merham* was in cutting the tackling, kept fast their yards in his shrouds; the Vice-admirall presently cleared himselfe, but spared neither his Ordnance nor Muskets to keepe *Merham* from getting away, till the Admirall had repaired his leake; from twelve at noone, till six at night, they thus interchanged one volly for another; then the Vice-admirall fell on starne, staying for the Admirall that came up againe to him, and all that night stood after *Merham*, that shaped his course for *Mamora*, but such small way they made, the next morning they were not three leagues off from *Cape Noa*. The two *Spanish* men of warre, for so they were, and well appointed, taking it in scorne as it seemed, with their chase, broadside and starne, the one after the other, within Musket shot, plying their ordnanee; and after an houres worke commanded *Merham* a maine for the King of *Spaine* upon faire quarter; *Merham* dranke to them, and so discharged his quarter peeces: which pride the *Spaniard* to revenge, boorded him againe, and many of them were got to the top to unsling the maine saile, which the Master and some others from the round house, caused to their cost to come tumbling downe; about the round house the *Spaniards* so pestered, that they were forced to the great Cablen and blew it up; the smoake and fire was so vehement, as they thought the Ship on fire; they in the fore castle were no lesse assaulted, that blew up a peece of the grating, with a great many of *Spaniards* more; then they cleared themselves with all speed, and *Merham* with as much expedition to quench the fire with wet clothes and water, which beganne to grow too fast. The *Spaniard* still playing upon him with all the shot they could; the open places presently they covered with old sailes, and prepared themselves to fight to the last man. The angry *Spaniard* seeing the fire quenched, hung out a flagge of truce to have but a parley, but that desperate *Merham* knew there was but one way with him, and would have none, but the report of his Ordnance, which hee did know well how to use for his best advantage. Thus they spent the next after-noone, and halfe that night, when the *Spanyards* either lost them or left them. Seven and twentie men *Merham* had slaine, and sixteene wounded, and could finde they had received 140. great shot. A wounded

Spanyard they kept alive confessed, they had lost 100. men in the Admirall, which they did feare would sinke, ere she could recover a Port. Thus reaccommodating their sailes, they sailed for *Sancta Cruse*, *Cape Goa*, and *Magadore*, till they came againe to *Saffee*, and then he returned into *England.*

THE

GENERALL HISTORIE

OF

VIRGINIA, NEW-ENGLAND,

AND THE

SUMMER ISLES,

WITH THE NAMES OF THE ADVENTURERS, PLANTERS, AND GOVERNOURS, FROM THEIR FIRST BEGINNING, AN. 1584.
TO THIS PRESENT 1626.

WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THOSE SEVERALL COLONIES

AND THE ACCIDENTS THAT BEFELL THEM IN ALL THEIR JOURNYES AND DISCOVERIES.

ALSO

THE MAPS AND DESCRIPTIONS

Of all those Countryes, their Commodities, People, Government,
Customes, and Religion yet knowne.

DIVIDED INTO SIXE BOOKES,

By CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH,

Sometymes Governour in those Countryes and
Admirall of New-England.

From the London Edition of 1627

TO

THE ILLVSTRIOVS

AND

MOST NOBLE PRINCESSE,

THE LADY FRANCIS,

Duchesse of Richmond and Lenox.

May it please your Grace,

This History, as for the raritie and varietie of the subject, so much more for the judicious *Eyes* it is like to vndergoe, and most of all for that great *Name*, whereof it dareth implore Protection, might and ought to haue beene clad in better robes then my rude military hand can cut out in Paper Ornaments. But because, of the most things therein, I am no Compiler by hearsay, but haue beene a reall Actor; I take my selfe to haue a propertie in them: and therefore haue beene bold to challenge them to come vnder the reach of my owne rough Pen. That, which hath beene indured and passed through with hardship and danger, is thereby sweetned to the *Actor*, when he becometh the *Relator*. I haue deeply hazarded my selfe in doing and suffering, and why should I sticke to hazard my reputation in Recording? He that acteth two parts is the more borne withall if he come short, or fayle in one of them. Where shall we looke to finde a *Iulius Cæsar*, whose atchieuments shine as cleare in his owne Commentaries, as they did in the field? I confesse, my hand, though able to weild a weapon among the Barbarous, yet well may tremble in handling a Pen among so many *Iudicious:* especially when I am so bold as to call so piercing, and so glorious an *Eye*, as your *Grace*, to view those poore ragged lines:

Yet my comfort is, that heretofore honourable and vertuous *Ladies*, and comparable but amongst themselues, haue offered me rescue and protection in my greatest dangers: even in forraine parts, I haue felt reliefe from that sex.—The beauteous Lady *Tragabigzanda*, when I was a slaue to the *Turkes*, did all she could to secure me. When I overcame the *Bashaw* of *Nalbrits* in *Tartaria*, the charitable Lady *Callamata* supplyed my necessities. In the vtmost of many extremities, that blessed *Pokahontas*, the great Kings daughter of *Virginia*, oft saved my life. When I escaped the crueltie of Pirats and most furious stormes, a long time alone in a small Boat at Sea, and driven ashore in *France*, the good Lady *Madam Chanoyes*, bountifully assisted me.

And so verily these my adventures haue tasted the same *influence* from your *Gratious hand*, which hath given birth to the publication of this *Narration*. If therefore your *Grace* shall daigne to cast your eye on this poore Booke, view I pray you rather your owne *Bountie* (without which it had dyed in the wombe) then my *imperfections*, which haue no helpe but the shrine of your *glorious Name* to be sheltered from censorious condemnation. Vouchsafe some glimpse of your honorable *aspect*, to accept these my labours; to protect them vnder the shadow of your excellent *Name:* which will inable them to be presented to the *Kings royall Maiestie*, the most admired Prince *Charles*, and the *Queene* of *Bohemia:* your sweet Recommendations will make it the worthier of their good countenances. And as all my endeavours are their due tribute: so this Page shall record to posteritie, that my service shall be to pray to *God*, that you may still continue the renowned of your sexe, the most honoured of men, and the highly blessed of *God*.

Your Graces *faithfull and devoted servant,*

IOHN SMITH.

A PREFACE OF FOURE POYNTS.

I. This plaine History humbly sheweth the truth; that our most royall King *Iames* hath place and opportunitie to inlarge his ancient *Dominions* without wronging any; (which is a condition most agreeable to his most iust and pious resolutions:) and the Prince his *Highness* may see where to plant new Colonies. The gaining Prouinces addeth to the Kings Crown: but the reducing Heathen people to ciuilitie, and true Religion, bringeth honour to the King of Heauen. If his Princely wisedome and powerfull hand, renowned through the world for admirable government, please but to set these new Estates into order; their composure will be singular: the counsell of divers is confused; the generall Stocke is consumed; nothing but the touch of the Kings sacred hand can erect a Monarchy.

II. Most noble Lords and worthy Gentlemen, it is your *Honors* that haue imployed great paines and large expence in laying the foundation of this State, wherein much hath beene buried vnder ground, yet some thing hath sprung vp, and giuen you a taste of your adventures. Let no difficulties alter your noble intentions. The action is an honour to your Country: and the issue may well reimburse you your summes expended. Our practices haue hitherto beene but assayes, and are still to be amended. Let your bountie supply the necessities of weake beginnings, and your excellent iudgements rectifie the proceedings; the returne cannot choose in the end but bring you good Commodities, and good contentments, by your aduancing shipping and fishing so vsefull vnto our Nation.

III. Yee valiant and generous spirits, personall possessors of these new-found Territories, banish from among you Cowardise, covetousnes, iealousies, and idlenes, enemies to the raising your honours and fortunes; vertue, industry, and amitie, will make you good and great, and your merits liue to ensuing Ages. You that in contempt of necessities, hazard your liues and estates, imploying your studies & labours in these faire endevours, liue and prosper as I desire my soule should prosper.

IIII. For my selfe let emulation and enuie cease, I ever intended my actions should be vpright: now my care hath beene that my Relations should giue every man they concerne,

their due. But had I not discovered and liued in the most of those parts, I could not possibly haue collected the substantiall truth from such a number of variable Relations, that would haue made a Volume at least of a thousand sheets. Though the beginning may seeme harsh in regard of the Antiquities, breuitie, and names; a pleasanter Discourse ensues. The stile of a Souldier is not eloquent, but honest and iustifiable; so I desire all my friends and well-wishers to excuse and accept it, and if any be so noble as to respect it, he that brought *New England* to light, though long since brought in obscuritie, he is againe to be found a true servant to all good designes.

So I ever rest yours to command,

IOHN SMITH.

A Gentleman desirous to be vnknowne, yet a great Benefactor to Virginia, *his loue to the Author, the Company, and History.*

Stay, reade, behold, skill, courage knowledge, Arts.
Wonder of *Nature:* *Mirror* of our Clime.
Mars, Vulcan, Neptune striue to haue their parts,
Rare Ornaments, rich honours of our time.

From far fetcht *Indies*, and *Virginia's* soyle,
Here *Smith* is come to shew his Art and skill:
He was the *Smith* that hammered famins foyle,
And on *Powhatan's* Emperour had his will.

Though first *Columbus, Indies* true *Christofer;*
Cabots braue *Florida,* much admirer;
Meta Incognita, rare *Martin Frobisher;*
Gilberts braue *Humphrey, Neptunes* deuourer;

Captaine *Amadis, Raleighs* discouerer;
Sir *Richard Grenvill, Zealands* braue coaster:
Drake, doomes, drowne, death, *Spaines* scorner;
Gosnolds Relates, *Pring* prime observer.

Though these be gone, and left behinde a name.
Yet *Smith* is here to Anvile out a peece
To after Ages, and eternall Fame,
That we may haue the golden *Iasons* fleece.

He *Vulcan* like did forge a true Plantation,
And chain'd their Kings to his immortall glory;
Restoring peace and plentie to the Nation,
Regaining honor to this worthy Story.

By him the *Infidels* had due correction,
He blew the bellowes still of peace and plentie:
He made the *Indians* bow vnto subiection,
And Planters ne're return'd to *Albion* empty.

The Colonies pin'd staru'd, staring, bones so feeble,
By his braue proiects proued strong againe:
The Souldiers 'lowance he did seeke to treble,
And made the *Salvage* in vncouth place remaine.

He left the Countrey in prosperous happie state,
And plenty stood with peace at each mans doore:
Regarding not the *Salvage* loue nor hate:
Themselues grew well, the *Indias* wondrous poore.

This there he did and now is home return'd,
To shew vs all that never thither goe:
That in his heart, he deepely oft hath mourn'd,
Because the Action goeth on so slow.

Wise, Rich,
graue, prize
Braue, Benefactors,
Replant, want, continue still good Actors.

finde,
and bring
kinde, eyes
Be to blind;
By Gods great might, giue *Indians* light.

Bloud,
money, to
doe
Spend that good,
That may giue *Indians* heav'nly food.

no lesse,
God you
still
And shall blesse;
Both you and yours the Lands possesse.

S. M

See here behold as in a Glasse,
All that is, or is and was.

T. T. 1624.

SAMUEL PURCHAS OF HIS FRIEND

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH AND HIS VIRGINIA.

Loe here Smiths Forge, where Forgery's Roague-branded,
True *Pegasus* is shoo'd, fetters are forged
For Silke-sotts, Milk-sops, base Sloth, farre hence landed,
(Soile-chang'd,* Soule-soil'd still) *Englands* dregs, discharged,
To plant (supplant!) *Virginia*, home-disgorged:
Where vertues praise frames good men Stories Armour
Gainst Time, *Achilles*-like, with best Arts charged;
Pallas, all-arm'd, all-learn'd, can teach Sword-Grammer,
Can Pens of Pikes; Armes t' Arts; to Scholar, Souldier, hammer.

---

* *Cœlum non animum mutant.*

Can *Pilgrim* make a *Maker;* all so well
Hath taught *Smith* scoure my rustic out-worne *Muse*,
And so coniur'd her in *Virginian* Cell,
That things vnlearn'd long by want of vse,
Shee fresh areeds me read, without abuse
By fabling. *Arthurs* great Acts little made
By greater lies she saith; seales Faith excuse
†T' Island, *Groonland*, *Estotiland* to wade
After lie-legends' *Malgo' Brandon*, are Wares braide.

The Fryer of *Linne*‡ frights her with his black Art;
Nor *British Bards* can tell where *Madoc*§ planted.
Cabots, *Thorns*, *Elyots* truth haye wonne her heart,
Eldest discov'rers of New Worlds Cont'nent (granted
So had iust Fates.) *Colon* and *Vespuce* panted;
This got the name,¶ last, least of Three; the Other
New Worlds Isles found first: *Cabot* is most chanted
In Three-Mens-song; did more New World discover
Then both, then any; and hundred degrees coasted over

Haile Sir *Sebastian*, *Englands* Northern Pole,
Virginia's finder; Virgin *Eliza* nam'd it,
Gaue 't *Raleigh*. (*Rut*, *Prat*, *Hore*, I not enrole)
Amadas rites to *English* right first fram'd it:
Lane planted, return'd nor had *English* tam'd it:
Greenviles and *Whites* men all slaine; New Plantation
Iames founds, Sloth confounds, feare, pride, faction sham'd it.
Smiths Forge mends all, makes chaines for *Savage* Nation,
Frees, feeds the rest; the rest reade in his Bookes Relation.

---

† *These are said a thousand yeares agoe to haue beene in the North parts of* America

‡ *He is said to discover the Pole* 1360.

§ Madoc ap Owen *Planted some remote Western parts.* 1170.

¶ America *named of* Americus Vesputius *which discovered les then* Colon *or Sir* Sebastian Cabot, *and the Continent later.* Colon *first found the Isles* 1492. *the Continent* 1493. *Aboue a yeare after* Cabot *had don it. He was set forth by* Henry 7. *and after by* Hen. 8 *Knighted and made grand Pilot of* England *by* Ed. 6. *Vnder whom he procured the sending of Sir* Hugh Willoughby, *and discovery of* Greenland *and* Russia: *having by himselfe discovered on* America *from* 67. *North lat. to neere* 40 *South.*

THOMAS MACARNESSE TO HIS WORTHY FRIEND AND COUNTRYMAN,

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

Who *loues* to *liue* at home, yet *looke* abroad,
And *know* both *passen* and *vnpassen* road,
The prime Plantation of an vnknowne shore,
The *men*, the *manners*, *fruitfulnesse*, and *store*:
  Read but this little Booke, and then confesse,
  The *lesse* thou *lik'st* and *lou'st*, thou *liu'st* the *lesse*.

He writ it with great labour, for thy good,
Twice over, now in *paper*, 'fore in *blood*;
It cost him deare, both paines, without an ayme
Of *private* profit, for thy *publicke* gaine.
  That thou mightst *read* and *know* and safely *see*,
  What he by *practice*, thou by *Theoree*.

Commend him for his loyall loving heart,
Or else *come mend* him, and take thou his part.

TO HIS FRIEND

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH, AND HIS WORKE.

I know not how Desert more great can rise,
  Then out of Danger t' ane for good mens Good;
Nor who doth better winne th' *Olympian* prize,
  Than he whose Countryes Honor stirres his bloud;
    Private respects haue private expectation,
    Publicke designes, should publish reputation.

This Gentleman whose Volumne heere is stoard
  With strange discoverie of GODS strangest Creatures,
Giues vs full view, how he hath Sayl'd, and Oar'd,
  And Marcht, full many myles, whose rough defeatures,
    Hath beene as bold, as puissant, vp to binde
    Their barbarous strength's, to follow him dog-linde.

But wit, nor valour, now adayes payes scores
  For estimation; all goes now by wealth,
Or friends; tush! thrust the beggar out of dores
  That is not Purse-lyn'd; those which liue by stealth
    Shall haue their haunts; no matter what's the guest
    In many places; monies well come best.

But those who well discerne, esteeme not so:
Nor I of thee braue *Smith* that hast beat out
Thy Iron thus; though I but little know
To what t' hast seene; yet I in this am stout:
My thoughts, maps to my minde some accidents,
That makes mee see thy greater presidents.

IO. DONE.

TO MY WORTHY FRIEND

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

How great a part of knowledge had wee lost,
Both of *Virginia* and the *Summer Isles*,
Had not thy carefull diligence and cost
Inform'd vs thus, with thy industrious stile!
Like *Cæsar* now thou writ'st what thou hast done,
These acts, this Booke will liue while ther's a Sunne.

EDW. WORSELEY

TO HIS MUCH RESPECTED FRIEND

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

Envie avant. For *Smith* whose *Anvill* was *Experience*,
Could take his *heat*, know how and when to *Strike*,
Wrought well this *Peece*; till *After-negligence*
Mistaking *temper*, Cold, or *Scorch'd*; or like
Vnskilfull workmen, that can never *Fyle*
Nor *Pollish* it, that takes in *Forge* such toyle:
Heere Noble *Smith*, thou shewest the *Temper* true,
Which other Tampring-*Tempres* never knew.

RO: NORTON.

TO HIS LOVING FRIEND

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

WHERE actions speake the praises of a man,
There, Pennes that vse to flatter silent be,
Or if they speake, it is to scorne or scanne;
For such with vertue seldome doe agree.

When I looke backe on all thy labours past,
Thy travels, perils, losses oft sustained
By Sea and Land; and (which is worst and last)
Neglect or *small reward*, so dearely gaind.

I doe admire thy still vndanted spirit;
Vnwearied yet to worke thy Countries good.
This be thy praise then, due vnto thy merit;
For it th' hast ventur'd life; and lost thy blood.

1. 2. 3. 1 2. 3.
Truth, travayle, and Neglect, pure, painefull, most vnkinde,
1. 2. 3. 1. 2. 3.
Doth proue, consume, dismay, the soule, the corps, the minde.

EDW: INGHAM.

* * *

TO MY DEARE FRIEND BY TRUE VERTUE ENNOBLED

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

MORE then enough I cannot thee commend:
Whose both abilities and Loue doe tend
So to advance the good of that Estate,
By *English* charge, and Planters propagate
Through heapes of painfull hazards; in the first
Of which, that *Colony* thy Care hath nurst.
And often that effected but with ten
That after thee, and now, three hundred men
Haue faild in, 'mong the *Salvages*, who shake
At bruit of Thee, as *Spaine* at Name of *Drake*.
Which well appeares; considering the while
Thou governedst, nor force of theirs, ne guile
Lessend a man of thine; but since (I rue)
In *British* blood they deeply did imbrue
Their Heathen hands. And (truth to say) we see,
Our selues wee lost, vntimely leaving Thee.

Nor yet perceiue I any got betweene
Thee and thy merit; which hath better beene
In prayse; or profit much; if counted iust;
Free from the Weales abuse, or wronged trust.
Some few *particulars* perhaps haue sped;
But wherein hath the *publicke* prospered?
Or is there more of those Vast Countries knowne,
Then by thy Labours and Relations showne
First, best? And shall wee loue Thee now the lesse?
Farre be it! fit condignely to expresse
Thankes, by new Charge, or recompence; by whom,
Such past good hath, such future good may come.

DAVID WIFFIN.

NOBLE CAPTAINE SMITH, MY WORTHY FRIEND.

Nor like the Age wherein thou liu'st, to lie
Buried in baseness, sloth, or Ribaldrie
(For most doe thus) hast thou thy selfe applide;
But, in faire Actions, Merits height describe:
Which (like foure Theaters to set thee forth)
The worlds foure Quarters testifie thy worth.
The last whereof (*America*) best showes
Thy paines, and prayse; and what to thee shee owes;
(Although thy Sommer shone on th' Elder Three,
In as great Deeds as great varietie)
For opening to Her Selfe, herself in Two*
Of *Her* large Members; Now *Ours*, to our view.
Thereby endearing vs to thy desart,
That doubly dost them to our hands impart;
There by thy *Worke*, *Heere* by thy *Workes*; By each
Maist thou Fames lasting Wreath (for guerdon) reach.
And so become, in after Times to ensue,
A President for others, *So* to doe.

WILLIAM GRENT.

---

[*] Virginia *now inhabited, and* New-England.

TO HIS WORTHILY AFFECTED FRIEND,

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

Amongst so many that by learned skill,
Haue given iust prayse to thee, and to thy Booke,
Deare friend receiue this pledge of my good will,
Whereon, if thou with acceptation looke,
And thinke it worthie, ranke amongst the rest.
Vse thy discretion, I haue done my best.

Ανώνυμος.

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HOW

ANCIENT AVTHORS REPORT,

THE NEVV VVORLD,

NOW CALLED AMERICA, WAS DISCOVERED:

AND PART THEREOF FIRST PLANTED BY THE ENGLISH, CALLED

VIRGINIA,

With the Accidents and Proceedings of the same.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

For the Stories of *Arthur*, *Malgo*, and *Brandon*, that say a thousand yeares agoe they were in the North of *America*; or the Fryer of *Linn* that by his black Art went to the North pole in the yeare 1360. in that I know them not. Let this suffice.

The Chronicles of *Wales* report, that *Madock*, sonne to *Owen Quineth*, Prince of *Wales* seeing his two brethren at debate who should inherit, prepared certaine Ships, with men and munition, and left his Country to seeke aduentures by Sea: leauing *Ireland* North he sayled west till he camed to a Land vnknowne. Returning home and relating what pleasant and fruitfull Countries he had seene without inhabitants, and for what barren land his brethren and kindred did murther one another, he provided a number of Ships, and got with him such men and women as were desirous to liue in quietnesse, that arriued with him in this new Land in the yeare 1170: Left many of his people there and returned for more. But where this place was no History can show.

The *Spanyards* say *Hanno* a Prince of *Carthage* was the first: and the next *Christopher Collumbus*, a Genoesian, whom they sent to discover those vnknowne parts. 1492.

But we finde by Records, *Collumbus* offered his seruice in the yeare 1488. to King *Henry* the seauenth; and by accident vndertooke it for the *Spanyards.* In the Interim King *Henry* gaue a Commission to *Iohn Cabot*, and his three sonnes, *Sebastian*, *Lewis*, and *Sautius.* *Iohn* and *Sebastian* well provided, setting sayle, ranged a great part of this vnknowne world, in the yeare 1497. For though *Collumbus* had found certaine Iles, it was 1498. ere he saw the Continent, which was a yeare after *Cabot.* Now *Americus* came a long time after, though the whole Continent to this day is called *America* after his name, yet *Sebastian Cabot* discovered much more then them all, for he sayled to about forty degrees Southward of the lyne, and to sixty-seuen towards the North: for which King *Henry* the eight Knighted him and made him grand Pilate of *England.* Being very aged King *Edward* the sixt gaue him a Pention of £166. 13*s.* 4*d.* yearely. By his directions Sir *Hugh Willowby* was sent to finde out the Country of *Russia*, but the next yeare he was found frozen to death in his Ship, and all his Company.

Mr. *Martin Frobisher* was sent in the yeare 1576. by our most gracious Queene *Elizabeth*, to search for the Northwest passage, and *Meta incognita:* for which he was Knighted, honored, and well rewarded.

Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* a worthy Knight attempted a Plantation in some of those parts: and obtained Letters Pattents to his desire: but with this *Proviso*, He should maiataine possession in some of those vast Countries within the tearme of sixe years. Yet when he was provided with a Navy able to incounter a Kings power, even here at home they fell in diuisions, and so into confusion, that they gaue over the Designe ere it was begun: notwithstanding all his losse, his vndaunted spirit began again, but his fleet fell with *New-found land*, and he perished in his returne, as at large you may read in the third Volume of the English Voyages, written by Mr. *Hackluit.*

Vpon all those relations and inducements, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a noble Gentleman, and then in great esteeme, vndertooke to send to discover to the Southward. And though his occasions and other imployments were such he could not goe himselfe, yet he procured her Maiesties Letters Pattents, and perswaded many worthy Knights and Gentlemen to

adventure with him to finde a place fit for a Plantation.—Their Proceedings followeth.

The most famous, renowned, and euer worthy of all memory, for her courage, learning, judgment, and vertue, Queene *Elizabeth*, granted her Letters Patents to Sir *Walter Raleigh* for the discovering and planting new Lands and Countries not actually possessed by any Christians. This Patenty got to be his assistants Sir *Richard Grenvell* the valiant, Mr. *William Sanderson* a great friend to all such noble and worthy actions; and divers other Gentlemen and Marchants, who with all speede prouided two small Barkes well furnished with all necessaries, vnder the command of Captaine *Philip Amidas* and Captaine *Barlow*. The 27. of Aprill they set sayle from the Thames, the tenth of May passed the *Canaries*, and the tenth of Iune the West Indies: which vnneedful Southerly course, (but then no better was knowne) occasioned them in that season much sicknesse.

The second of Iuly they fell with the coast of *Florida* in shoule water, where they felt a most delicate sweete smell, though they saw no land, which ere long they espied, thinking it the Continent: an hundred and twenty myles they sayled not finding any harbor. The first that appeared, with much difficulty they entered, and anchored, and after thankes to God they went to view the next Land adjoyning to take possession of it for the Queenes most excellent Maiestie: which done, they found their first landing place very sandy and low, but so full of grapes that the very surge of the Sea sometimes over-flowed them: of which they found such plenty in all places, both on the sand, the greene soyle and hils, as in the plaines as well on euery little shrub, as also climbing towardes the tops of high Cedars, that they did thinke in the world were not the like abundance.

We passed by the Sea-side towards the tops of the next hills being not high: from whence we might see the Sea on both sides, and found it an Ile of twenty myles in length, and six in breadth; the vallyes replenished with goodly tall Cedars. Discharging our Muskets, such a flocke of Cranes, the most white, arose by vs, with such a cry as if an Army of men had shouted altogether. This Ile hath many goodly Woods, and Deere, Conies, and Foule in incredible abundance, and vsing the Authors owne phrase, the Woods are not such as you finde in *Bohemia*, *Moscovia*, or *Hercinia*, barren and

fruitlesse, but the highest and reddest Cedars of the world, bettering them of the Assores, Indies, or *Libanus:* Pynes, Cypres, Saxefras, the Lentisk that beareth Mastick, and many other of excellent smell and qualitie. Till the third day we saw not any of the people, then in a little Boat three of them appeared, one of them went on shore, to whom wee rowed, and he attended vs without any signe of feare: after he had spoke much though we vnderstood not a word, of his owne accord he came boldly aboord vs, we gaue him a shirt, a hat, wine and meate, which he liked well, and after he had well viewed the barkes and vs, he went away in his owne Boat, and within a quarter of a myle of vs in half an houre, had loaden his Boat with fish, with which he came againe to the poynt of land, and there divided it in two parts, poynting one part to the Ship, the other to the Pinnace, and so departed.

The next day came diuers Boats, and in one of them the Kings Brother, with forty or fifty men, proper people, and in their behauiour very ciuill; his name was *Granganameo*, the King is called *Winginia*, the Country *Wingandacoa*, Leauing his Boats a little from our ships, he came with his trayne to the poynt: where spreading a Matte he sat downe.—Though we came to him well armed, he made signes to vs to sit downe without any shew of feare, stroking his head and brest, and also ours, to expresse his loue. After he had made a long speech vnto vs, we presented him with diuers toyes, which he kindly accepted. He was greatly regarded by his people, for none of them did sit, nor speake a word, but foure, on whom we bestowed presents only, but he tooke all from them, making signes all things did belong to him.

The King himselfe in a conflict with a King his next neighbour and mortall enemy, was shot in two places through the body, and the thigh, yet recouered: whereby he lay at his chiefe towne six dayes iourney from thence.

A day or two after shewing them what he had, *Granganameo* taking most liking to a Pewter dish, made a hole in it, hung it about his necke for a brest-plate, for which he gaue vs twenty Deere skins, worth twenty Crownes; and for a Copper Kettell, fiftie skins, worth fiftie Crownes. Much other trucke we had, and after two dayes he came aboord, and did eate and drinke with vs very merrily. Not long after he brought his wife and children, they were but of meane

stature, but well fauoured and very bashfull; she had a long coat of Leather, and about her privities a peece of the same, about her forehead a band of white Corrall, and so had her husband, in her eares were bracelets of pearle, hanging downe to her middle, of the bignesse of great Pease; the rest of the women had Pendants of Copper, and the Noblemen fiue or sixe in an eare; his apparrell as his wiues, onely the women weare their haire long on both sides, and the men but on one; they are of colour yellow, but their hayre is black, yet we saw children that had very fayre Chesnut coloured hayre.

After that these women had been here with vs, there came downe from all parts great store of people, with Leather, Corrall, and diuers kinde of dyes, but when *Granganameo* was present, none durst trade but himselfe, and them that wore red Copper on their heads, as he did. When euer he came, he would signifie by so many fires he came with so many boats, that we might know his strength. Their Boats are but one great tree, which is but burnt in the forme of a trough with gins and fire, till it be as they would haue it. For an armour he would haue engaged vs a bagge of pearle, but we refused, as not regarding it, that wee might the better learn where it grew. He was very iust of his promise, for oft we trusted him, and would come within his day to keepe his word. He sent vs commonly euery day a brace of Bucks, Conies, Hares, and fish, sometimes Mellons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Pease, and diuers rootes. This Author sayth, their corne groweth three times in fiue moneths; in May they sow, in Iuly reape: in Iune they sow, in August reape; in Iuly sow, in August reape. We put some of our Pease in the ground, which in ten dayes were 14. ynches high.

The soyle is most plentifull, sweete, wholesome, and fruitfull of all other, there are about 14. seuerall sorts of sweete smelling tymber trees: the most parts of the vnderwood, Bayes and such like: such Okes as we, but far greater and better. After this acquaintance, my selfe with seuen more went twenty myle into the Riuer *Occam*, that runneth toward the Cittie *Skicoack*, and the eueuing following we came to an Ile called *Roanoak*, from the harbour where we entred 7. leagues: at the North end was 9. houses, builded with Cedar, fortified round with sharpe trees, and the entrance like a Turnpik. When we came towards it, the wife of *Granganameo* came running out to meete vs, (her husband was

absent) commanding her people to draw our Boat ashore for beating on the billowes, other she appoynted to carry vs on their backes aland, others to bring our Ores into the house for stealing. When we came into the other roome, (for there was fiue in the house) she caused vs to sit downe by a great fire; and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, of some our stockings, and some our feete in warme water, and she herselfe tooke much paines to see all things well ordered, and to provide vs victuall.

After we had thus dryed our selues, she brought vs into an Inner roome, where she set on the bord standing a long the house somewhat like frumentie, sodden venison, and rosted fish: in like manner mellons raw, boyled rootes and fruits of diuers kindes. There drinke is commonly water boyled with Ginger, sometimes with Saxefras, and wholesome herbes, but whilest the Grape lasteth they drinke wine. More loue she could not expresse to entertaine vs; they care but onely to defend themselues from the short winter, and feede on what they finde naturall in sommer. In this feasting house was their Idoll of whom they tould vs vncredible things. When we were at meate two or three of her men came amongst vs with their Bowes and Arrowes, which caused vs to take our armes in hand. She perceiuing our distrust, caused their Bowes and Arrowes to be broken, and they beaten out of the gate: but the euening approaching we returned to our boate, whereat she much grieuing brought our supper halfe boyled, pots and all, but when she saw vs, but put our boat a little off from the shoar and lye at Anchor, perceiuing our Iealousie, she sent diuers men and 30. women to sit al night on the shoare side against vs, and sent vs fiue Mats to couer vs from the raine, doing all she could to perswade vs to her house. Though there was no cause of doubt, we would not aduenture: for on our safety depended the voyage: but a more kinde louing people cannot be. Beyond this Ile is the maine land and the great riuer *Occam*, on which standeth a Towne called *Pomeiock* and six dayes higher, their City *Skicoak:* those people neuer saw it, but say their fathers affirme it to be aboue two hours iourney about. Into this riuer falleth an other called *Cipo*, where is founde many Mustells wherein are Pearles: likewise another Riuer called *Nomapona*, on the one side whereof standeth a great towne called *Chawanock*, the Lord of the Country is not subiect to *Wingandacoa.*

Beyond him an other king they cal *Menatonon*. These 3. are in league each with other. Towards the south. 4. dayes iourney is *Sequotan*, the southermost part of *Wingandacoa*.

Adioyning to *Secotan* beginneth the country *Pomouik*, belonging to the King called *Piumacum*, in the Country *Nusiok* vpon the great riuer *Neus*. These haue mortall warres with *Wingina*, King of *Wingandacoa*. Betwixt *Piemacum* and the Lord of *Secotan*, a peace was concluded: notwithstanding there is a mortall malice in the *Secotans*, because this *Piemacum* invited diuers men, and 30. women to a feast, and when they were altogether merry before their Idoll, which is but a meere illusion of the Deuill, they sudainly slew all the men of *Secotan*, and kept the women for their vse. Beyond *Roanouk* are many Isles full of fruits and other Naturall increases, with many Townes along the side of the Continent. Those Iles lye 200. myles in length, and betweene them and the mayne, a great long sea, in some places. 20. 40. or 50. myles broad, in other more, some where lesse. And in this sea are 100. Iles of diuers bignesses, but to get into it, you haue but 3. passages and they very dangerous. Though this you see for most part be but the relations of Saluages, because it is the first, I thought it not a misse to reremember them as they are written by them that returned and arived in *England* about the middest of *September* the same yeare. This discouery was so welcome into *England* that it pleased her Maiestie to call this Country of *Wingandacoa*, *Virginia*, by which name now you are to vnderstand how it was planted, disolued, reuned, and enlarged,

The Performers of this voyage were the following.

Philip Amadas. } Captaines.
Arthur Barlow. } Captaines.
Willliam Grenuill.
Iohn Wood.
Iames Browewich.
Henry Greene.
Beniamen Wood.
Simon Ferdinando. } Of the Companie.
Nicholas Peryman. } Of the Companie.
Iohn Hewes. } Of the Companie.

Sir Richard Grenuills voyage to Virginia, for Sir Walter Raleigh, 1585.

The 9. of *Aprill* he departed from *Plimouth* with 7. sayle: the chiefe men with him in command, were Master *Ralph Layne*, Master *Thomas Candish* Master *Iohn Arundel*, Master *Stukley*, Master *Bremige*, Master *Vincent*, Master *Heryot* and Master *Iohn Clarke*. The 14. day we fell with the *Canaries*, and the 7. of *May* with *Dominico* in the West *Indies:* we landed at *Portorico*, after with much a doe at *Izabella* on north *of Hispaniola*, passing by many Iles. Vpon the 20. we fell with the mayne of *Florida*, and were put in great danger vpon Cape *Fear*. The 26. we Anchored at *Wocokon*, where the admiral had like to beene cast away, presently we sent to *Wingina* to *Roanoak*, and Master *Arundell* went to the mayne, with *Manteo* a saluage, and that day to *Crooton*. The 11. The Generall victualed for 8. dayes with a selected company went to the maine, and discovered the Townes of *Pomeiok*, *Aquascogoc*, *Secotan*, and the great Lake called *Paquipe*. At *Aquascogoc* the Indians stole a siluer Cup, wherefore we burnt the Towne and spoyled their corne, so returned to our fleete at *Tocokon*. Whence we wayed for *Hatorask*, where we rested, and *Granganimeo*, King *Wingina's* brother with *Manteo* came abord our Admirall, the Admirall went for *Weapomeiok*, and Master *Iohn Arundell* for *England*. Our Generall in his way home tooke a rich loaden ship of 300. tunns, with which he ariued at *Plimouth* the 18. of *September*. 1585.

These were left vnder the command of Master Ralph Layne *to inhabite the Country, but they returned within a yeare.*

Philip Amidas Admirall.
Master Thomas Heryot.
Master Acton.
Master Stafford.
Master Thomas Luddington.
Master Maruyn.
Cap. Vaghan.
Master Kendall.
Master Gardiner.
Master Predeox.
Master Rogers.
Master Haruy.
Master Snelling.
Master Antony Russe.
Master Allen.
Master Michaell Pollison.
Master Thomas Bockner.
Master Iamesmason.
Master Dauid Salter,
Master Iames Skinner.

With diuers others to the number of 108.

Touching the most remarkeable things of the Country and our proceeding from the 17 of *August* 1585. till the 18. of *June* 1586. we made *Roanoack* our habitation. The vtmost of our discouery Southward was *Secotan* as we esteemed 80. leagues from *Roanoacke*. The passage from thence was thought a broad sound within the maine, being without kenning of land, yet full of flats and shoulds that our Pinnasse could not passe, and we had but one boat with 4. ores, that would carry but 15. men with their prouisions for 7. dayes: so that because the winter approached we left those discoueries till a stronger supply. To the Northward; our farthest was to a Towne of the *Chesapeacks*, from *Roanoack* 130. myles. The passage is very shallow and dangerous by reason of the breadth of the sound and the little succour for a storme. but this teritory being 15. myle from the shoare, for pleasantnest of seate, for temporature of climate, fertility of soyle and comoditie of the Sea, besides beares, good woods, *Saxefras*, *Walnuts* &c. is not to be, excelled by any other whatsoeuer.

There be sundry other Kings they call *Weroances* as the *Mangoacks*, *Trypaniks* and *opposians*, which came to visit vs.

To the northwest our farthest was *Chawonock* from *Roanoack* 130. myles our *Chawonoack* passage lyeth through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the channell Nauigable for a Ship, but out of it full of shoules.

The townes by the way by the water, are *Passaquenock* the womens towne, *Chepanoc*, *Weapomeiok*; from *Muscamunge* wee enter the riuer and iurisdiction of *Chawonock*, there it beginneth to straiten, and at *Chawonock* it is as *Thames* at *Lambeth:* betwixt them as we passed is goodly high land on the left hand, and there is a towne called *Ohanock*, where is a great corne field, it is subiect to *Chawonock*, which is the greatest Prouince vpon the riuer, and the Towne it selfe can put seuen hundred men into the field, besides the forces of the rest. The King is lame, but hath more vnderstanding then all the rest.

The river of *Moratoc* is more famous then all the rest, and openeth into the sound of *Weapomeiok*, and where there is but a very small currant in *Chawonock*, it hath so strong a currant from the Southwest, as we doubted how to row against it. Strange things they report of the head of the riuer, and of *Moratoc* it selfe, a principall towne on it, and is

thirtie or fortie dayes Iourney to the head. This lame King is called *Menatonon* When I had him prisoner two dayes, he told mee that 3. dayes Iourney in a Canow vp the riuer *Chawonock*, then landing and going foure dayes Iourney Northeast. there is a King whose Country lyeth on the Sea, but his best place of strength is an Iland in a Bay inuironed with deepe water, where he taketh that abundance of Pearle, that not onely his skins, and his nobles, but also his beds and houses are garnished therewith. This King was at *Chawonock* two yeares agoe to trade with blacke pearle, his worst sort whereof I had a rope, but they were naught: but that King he sayth hath store of white, and had trafficke with white men, for whom he reserued them; he promised me guides to him, but aduised me to goe strong, for he was vnwilling strangers should come in his Country, for his Countrey is populous and valiant men. If a supply had come in Aprill, I resolued to haue sent a small Barke to the Northward to haue found it, whilest I with small Boates and 200. men would haue gone to the head of the riuer *Chawonock*, with sufficient guides by land, inskonsing my selfe euery two dayes, where I would leaue Garrisons for my retreat till I came to this Bay.

Very neare unto it is the riuer of *Moratoc*, directly from the West, the head of it springeth out of a mayne Rocke, which standeth so neare the Sea, that in stormes the Sea beats ouer it into this fresh spring, that of it selfe at the surse is a violent streame. I intended with two Wherries and fortie persons to haue *Menatonons* sonne for guide, to try this presently, till I could meete with some of the *Moratocks*, or *Mangouks*, but hoping of getting more victuall from the Saluages, we as narrowly escaped staruing in that Discouery as euer men did.

For *Pemissapan* who had changed his name of *Wingina* vpon the death of his brother *Granganameo*, had giuen both the *Chawonests*, and *Mangouks* word of my purpose: also he told me the *Chawonocks* had assembled two or three thousand to assault me at *Roanok*, vrging me daily to goe against them, and them against vs; a great assembly I found at my comming thether, which suddaine approach did so dismay them, that we had the better of them: and this confederacy against vs was procured by *Pemissapan* himselfe our chiefe friend we trusted: but sent word also to the *Moratoks* and the

Mangoacks, I came to inuade them, that they all fled vp into the high Country, so that where I assured my selfe both of succour and prouision, I found all abandoned. But being thus farre on my iourney 160. myles from home, and but victuals for two dayes, besides the casualties of crosse winds, stormes, and the Saluages trechery, though we intended no hurt to any: I gaue my company to vnderstand we were onely drawne forth vpon these vaine hopes by the Saluages to bring vs to confusion: a Councell we held, to goe forward or returne, but they all were absolutely resolued but three, that whilst there was but one pynt of Corne for a man, they would not leaue the search of that riuer; for they had two Mastiue Dogs, which boyled with Saxefras leaues (if the worst fell out) vpon them and the pottage they would liue two dayes, which would bring them to the sound, where they should finde fish for two dayes more to passe it to *Roanock*, which two dayes they had rather fast then goe backe a foote, till they had seene the *Mangoaks* either as friends or foes.

Though I did forsee the danger and misery, yet the desire I had to see the *Mangoaks* was, for that there is a prouince called *Chaunis Temoatan*, frequented by them and well knowne to all those Countries, where is a mine of Copper they call *Wassador*; they say they take it out of a riuer that falleth swiftly from high rocks in shallow water, in great Bowles, couered with leather, leauing a part open to receiue the mettall, which by the change of the colour of the water where the spout falleth, they suddainly chop downe, and haue the Bowlefull, which they cast into the fire, it presently melteth, and doth yeeld in fiue parts at the first melting two parts mettall for three of Ore. The *Mangoaks* haue such plenty of it, they beautifie their houses with great plates thereof: this the Salvages report; and young *Skiko* the King *Chawonocks* sonne my prisoner, that had beene prisoner among the *Mangoacks*, but neuer at *Chaunis Temoatan*, for he sayd that was twentie dayes iourney overland from the *Mangoaks*.

Menatonon also confirmed all this, and promised me guids to this mettall Country; by Land to the *Mangoaks* is but one dayes iourney, but seauen by water, which made me so willing to haue met them for some assay of this mettall: but when we came there we found no creature, onely we might see where had beene their fires. After our two dayes iourney, and our victuals spent, in the euening we heard some call as

we thought *Manteo*, who was with me in the boat; this made vs glad, he made them a friendly answer, which they answered with a song we thought for welcome, but he told vs they came to fight. Presently they did let flie their Arrowes a bout the boat, but did no hurt, the other boat scouring the shore we landed: but they all were fled, and how to finde them wee knew not. So the next morning we returned to the mouth of the riuer, that cost vs foure dayes rowing vp, and here our dogs pottage stood vs in good stead, for we had nothing els: the next day we fasted being windbound, and could not passe the sound; but the day following we came to *Chippanum*, where the people were fled, but their wires afforded vs fish: thus being neare spent, the next day God brought vs to *Roanocke*. I conclude a good Mine, or the South Sea will make this Country quickly inhabited, and so for pleasure and profit comparable with any in the world: otherwise there will be nothing worth the fetching. Provided there be found a better harbour then yet there is, which must be Northward if there be any. Master *Vaughan*, no lesse hoped of the goodnesse of the Mine, then Master *Heriot* that the riuer *Moratocks* head, either riseth by the Bay of *Mexico*, or very neare the South Sea: or some part that openeth neare the same, which cannot with that facilitie be done as from the Bay of Pearles, by insconsing foure dayes iourney to the *Chawonoks*, *Mangoaks*, and *Moratocks*, &c.

The conspiracy of Pemissapan; *the Discouery of it; and our returne for* England *with Sir* Francis Drake.

Ensenore a Saluage, father to *Pemissapan*, the best friend we had after the death of *Grangenimeo*, when I was in those Discoueries, could not prevaile any thing with the King from destroying vs, that all this time God had preserued, by his good counsell to the King to be friendly vnto vs. *Pemissapan* thinking as the brute was in this last iourney we were slained and starued, began to blaspheme our God that would suffer it, and not defend vs, so that old *Ensenore* had no more credit for vs: for he began by all the deuises he could to

inuade vs. But in the beginning of this brute, when they saw vs all returne, the report false, and had *Manteo*, and three Saluages more with vs. how little we esteemed all the people we met, and feared neither hunger, killing, or any thing, and had brought their greatest Kings sonne prisoner with vs to *Roanock:* it a little asswaged all his deuises, and brought *Ensenore* in respect againe, that our God was good, and wee their friends, and our foes should perish, for we could doe them more hurt being dead, then liuing, and that being an hundred myles from them, shot, and strucke them sicke to death, and that when we die it is but for a time, then we returne againe. But that which wrought the most feare among them was the handy-worke of Almightie God. For certaine dayes after my returne, *Menatonon* sent messengers to me with Pearle, and *Okisco* King of *Weopomeoke*, to yeeld himselfe seruant to the Queene of *England*. *Okisco* with twenty-foure of his principall men came to *Pemissapan* to acknowledge this dutie and subiection, and would performe it. All which so changed the heart of *Pemissapan*, that vpon the advice of *Ensenore*, when we were ready to famish they came and made vs wires and planted their fields they intended to abandon (we not hauing one corne till the next haruest to sustaine vs.) This being done our old friend *Ensenore* dyed the twenty of Aprill, then all our enemies wrought with *Pemissapan* to put in practice his deuices, which he easily imbraced, though they had planted corne by vs; and at *Dasamonpeack* two leagues from vs. Yet they got *Okisco* our tributary to get seuen or eight hundred (and the *Mandoages* with the *Chisapeans* should doe the like) to meete (as their custome is) to solemnize the Funerall of *Ensenore*. Halfe of whom should lye hid, to cut off the straglers, seeking crabs and prouision: the rest come out of the mayne vpon the Signall by fire. Twenty of the principall of *Pemissapans* men had charge in the night to beset my house, put fire in the Reeds that couered it, which might cause me run out so naked and amazed, they might without danger knocke out my braines. The same order for Mr. *Heriots*, and the rest: for all should haue beene fired at an instant. In the meane time they should sell vs nothing, and in the night spoyle our wires, to make necessitie disperse vs. For if we were but ten together, a hundred of them would not meddle with vs. So our famine increased. I was forced to send Captaine

Stafford to *Croatan*, with twentie to feed himselfe, and see if he could espie any sayle passe the coast; Mr. *Predeox* with ten to *Hatarask* vpon the same occasion: and other small parties to the Mayne to liue vpon rootes and Oysters.

Pemissapan sequesting himselfe, I should not importune him for victuall, and to draw his troupes, found not the *Chawonests* so forward as he expected, being a people more faithfull and powerfull, and desired our friendships, and was offended with him for raising such tales, and all his proiects were revealed to me by *Skico* my prisoner; who finding himselfe as well vsed by me, as *Pemissapan* tould me all. These troubles caused me to send to *Pemissapan*, to put suspition in his head, I was to goe presently to *Croatan* to meete a Fleete came to me, though I knew no such matter: and that he would lend me men to fish and hunt. He sent me word he would come himselfe to *Roanock:* but delaying time eight dayes that all his men were there to be assembled, not liking so much company. I resolued the next day to goe visit him, but first to giue them in the Ile a Canvisado, and at an instant to seaze on all their Canows about the Ile. But the towne tooke the Alarum before I ment it. For when I sent to take the Canows, he met one going from the shore, ouerthrew her and cut off two Salvages heads; wherevpon the cry arose, being by their spyes perceiued: for they kept as good watch over vs, as we of them. Vpon this they to their Bowes, and we to our Armes: three or foure of them at the first were slaine, the rest fled into the woods. The next morning I went to *Dassamonpeack* and sent *Pemissapan* word I was going to *Croatan*, and tooke him in my way to complaine *Osocon* would haue stole my prisoner *Skico*. Herevpon he did abide my comming, and being among eight of the principallest, I gaue the watchword to my men, and immediately they had that they purposed for vs. Himselfe being shot through with a Pistoll fell downe as dead, but presently start vp and ran away from them all, till an Irish Boy shot him over the buttocks, where they tooke him and cut off his head.

Seauen dayes after Captaine *Stafforton* sent to me he descryed twentie-three Sayle. The next day came to me himselfe (of whom I must say this, from the first to the last, he neither spared labour, or perill by land or sea, fayre weather, or foule, to performe any serious seruice committed to him.) He brought me a letter from Sir *Francis Drake*, whose generous

mind offered to supply all my defects, of shipping, boats, munition, victuall, clothes, and men to further this action: and vpon good consultation and deliberation, he appointed me a ship of 70. tuns, with an hundred men, and foure moneths victuals, two Pinnaces, foure small Boats, with two sufficient Masters, with sufficient Gangs. All this being made ready for me, suddenly arose such a storme for foure dayes, that had like to haue driuen the whole Fleete on shore: many of them were forced to the Sea, whereof my ship so lately giuen me was one, with all my prouision and Company appoynted.

Notwithstanding, the storme ceasing, the Generall appointed me a ship of 170. tuns, with all prouisions as before, to carry me into *England* the next August, or when I had performed such Discoueries as I thought fit. Yet they durst not vndertake to bring her into the harbour, but she must ride in the road, leauing the care of the rest to my selfe, advising me to consider with my Company what was fittest, and with my best speed returne him answer.

Herevpon calling my Company together, who were all as priuy of the Generals offer as my selfe; their whole request was, (in regard of all those former miseries, and no hope of the returne of Sir *Richard Grenvill,)* and with a generall consent, they desired me to vrge him, we might all goe with him for *England* in his Fleete; for whose reliefe in that storme he had sustained more perill of wrack, then in all his honorable actions against his enemies. So with prayses to God we set sayle in Iune 1586. and arriued in *Portsmouth* the 27. of Iulý the same yeare: Leaving this remembrance to posteritie.

To reason lend me thine attentiue eares,
Exempt thy selfe from mind distracting cares.
Least that's here thus proiected for thy good;
By thee reiected be, ere vnderstood.

Written by Mr. *Ralph Layne*, Governour.

The Observations of Mr. Thomas Heriot *in this Voyage.—For Merchandize and Victualls.*

What before is writ, is also confirmed by that learned *Mathematician* Mr. *Thomas Heriot*, with them in the Country, whose particular Relation of all the Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Foules, Fruites, and Rootes, and how they may be vsefull; because I haue writ it before for the most part in the Discourse of Captaine *Amidas*, and Captaine *Layne*, except Silk grasse, Worme silke, Flax like Hempe, Allum, Wapeith, or *Terra sigillata*, Tar, Rosen, and Turpentine, Civet-cats, Iron ore, Copper that held Silver, Coprose and Pearle: Let those briefes suffice, because I would not trouble you with one thing twice.

DYES.

For Dyes, *Showmack*, the herbe *Wasebur*, little rootes called *Chapacor*, and the barke of a tree called by the Inhabitants *Tangomockonominge*, which are for divers sorts of Reds.

What more then is related is an herbe in Dutch called *Melden*, described like an Orange, growing foure foote high; the seede will make good broth, and the stalke burnt to ashes makes a kinde of Salt: other Salt they know not, and we vsed of it for Pot-herbs. Of their *Tobacco* we found plenty, which they esteeme their chiefe Physicke.

Ground nuts, *Tiswaw* we call *China* rootes: they grow in clusters, and bring forth a bryer stalke, but the leafe is far vnlike, which will climbe vp to the top of the highest tree: the vse knowne is to cut it in small peeces, then stampe and straine it with water, and boyled makes a gelly good to eate. *Cassavia* growes in Marishes, which the *Indians* oft vse for bread and broth. *Habascon* is like a Parsnip, naught of it selfe, except compounded: and their Leekes like those in *England*.

Sequenummener, a kind of Berry like Capers, and three kinde of Berries like Acornes, called *Sagatamenor*, *Osamenor*, and *Pummuckoner*.

Saquenuckot and *Maquowoc*, two kinde of beasts, greater then Conies, and very good meate; in some places such plenty of gray Conies, like hayres, that all the people make them mantels of their skins. I haue the names of 28. severall sorts

that are dispersed in the Country: of which 12. kindes we haue discouered and good to eate; but the Salvages sometimes kill a Lyon and eate him.

There is plentie of Sturgeon in February, March, Aprill, and May; all Herings in abundance; some such as ours, but the most part of 18.20. or 24. ynches long, and more. Trouts, Porpisses, Rayes; Mullets, Old-wiues, Plaice, Tortoises both by Sea and Land: Crabs, Oysters, Mussels, Scalops, Periwinckles, Crevises, Secanank: we haue the Pictures of 12. sorts more, bnt their names we know not.

Turkeys, Stockdoues, Partridges, Cranes, Hernes, Swans, Geese, Parrots, Faulcons, Merlins. I haue the names in their language of 86. severall sorts. Their woods are such as ours in *England* for the most part, except *Rakeock*, a great sweet tree, whereof they make their Canowes: and *Ascopo*, a kinde of tree like Lowrell, and Saxefras.

THEIR NATURES AND MANNERS.

Their Clothing, Townes, Houses, Warres, Arts, Tooles, handy crafts, and educations, are much like them in that part of *Virginia* we now inhabite: which at large you may reade in the Description thereof. But the relation of their Religion is strange, as this Author reporteth.

Some Religion they haue, which although it be farre from the truth, yet being as it is there is hope it may be the easier reformed. They beleeue there are many gods which they call *Muntoac*, but of different sorts and degrees. Also that there is one cheife God that hath beene from all eternitie, who as they say when he purposed first to make the world, made first other gods of a principall order, be as instruments to be vsed in the Creation and government to follow: And alter the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, as pettie gods, and the instruments of the other order more principall. First (they say) were made waters out of which by the gods were made all diversitie of creatures that are visible or invisible.

For mankinde they say a Woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods conceiued and brought forth children: and so they had their beginning, but how many yeares or ages since they know not; having no Records but onely Tradition from Father to soone.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, and therefore represent thē by Images in the formes of men; which they call *Kewasowok:* one alone is called *Kewasu:* them they place in their Temples, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many offerings. The common sort thinke them also gods.

They beleeue the immortalitie of the Soule, when life departing from the body, according to the good or bad workes it hath done, it is carried vp to the Tabernacles of the gods, to perpetuall happinesse, or to *Popogusso*, a great pit: which they thinke to be at the furthest parts of the world, where the Sunne sets, and there burne continually.

To confirme this they told me of two men that had beene lately dead, and revived againe: the one hapned but few yeares before our comming into the country; of a bad man. which being dead and buried, the next day the earth over him being seene to moue, was taken vp, who told them his soule was very neare entering into *Popogusso*, had not one of the gods saued him and gaue him leaue to returne againe, to teach his friends what they should doe to avoyd such torment. The other hapned the same yeare we were there, but sixtie myles from vs, which they told me for news, that one being dead, buried, and taken vp as the first, shewed, that although his body had layne dead in the graue, yet his soule liued, and had travailed far in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew more sweet, fayre, and delicate trees and fruits, then ever he had seene before: at length he came to most braue and fayre houses, neere which he met his Father, that was dead long agoe, who gaue him charge to goe backe, to shew his friends what good there was to doe, to inioy the pleasures of that place; which when hee had done hee should come againe.

What subtiltie so ever be in the *Weroances*, and *Priests;* this opinion worketh so much in the common sort, that they haue great respect to their Governours: and as great care to avoyde torment after death, and to enioy blisse. Yet they haue divers sorts of punishments according to the offence, according to the greatnesse of the fact. And this is the sum of their Religion, which I learned by having speciall familiaritie with their Priests, wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gaue such credit, but through conversing with vs, they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small

admiration of ours: of which many desired to learne more then we had meanes for want of utterance in their Language to expresse.

Most things they saw with vs as Mathematicall Instruments, Sea-Compasses; the vertue of the Loadstone, Perspectiue Glasses, burning Glasses: Clocks to goe of themselues; Bookes, writing, Guns, and such like; so far exceeded their capacities, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then men; or at least the gods had taught vs how to make them, which loued vs so much better then them; and caused many of them giue credit to what we spake concerning our God. In all places where I came, I did my best to make his immortall glory knowne. And I told them, although the Bible I shewed them, contained all; yet of it selfe, it was not of any such vertue as I thought they did conceiue. Notwithstanding many would be glad to touch it, to kisse, and imbrace it, to hold it to their breasts, and heads, and stroke all their body over with it.

The King *Wingina* where we dwelt; would oft be with vs at Prayer. Twice he was exceeding sicke and like to dye. And doubting of any helpe from his Priests, thinking he was in such danger for offending vs and our God, sent for some of vs to pray, and be a meanes to our God, he might liue with him after death. And so did many other in the like case. One other strange Accident (leauing others) will I mention before I end, which mooued the whole Country that either knew or heard of vs, to haue vs in wonderfull admiration.

There was no Towne where they had practised any villany against vs (we leaving it vnpunished, because we sought by all possible meanes to winne them by gentlenes) but within a few dayes after our departure, they began to dye; in some Townes twenty, in some forty, in some sixty, and in one an hundred and twenty, which was very many in respect of their numbers. And this hapned in no place (we could learn) where we had bin, but where they had vsed some practise to betray vs. And this diease was so strange, they neither knew what it was, nor how to cure it; nor had they knowne the like time out of minde; a thing specially observed by vs, as also by themselues, in so much that some of them who were our friends, especially *Wingina*, had observed such effects in foure or fiue Townes, that they were perswaded it was the worke of God through our meanes: and that we by him might

kill and slay whom we would, without weapons, and not come neere them. And therevpon, when they had any vnderstanding, that any of their enemies abused vs in our Iourneyes, they would intreat vs, we would be a meanes to our God, that they, as the others that had dealt ill with vs, might dye in like sort: although we shewed them their requests were vngodly; and that our God would not subiect himselfe to any such requests of men, but all things as he pleased came to passe: and that we, to shew our selues his true servants, ought rather to pray for the contrary: yet because the effect fell out so suddenly after, according to their desires, they thought it came to passe by our meanes, and would come giue vs thankes in their manner, that though we satisfied them not in words, yet in deeds we had fulfilled their desires.

This maruellous Accident in all the Country wrought so strange opinions of vs, that they could not tell whether to thinke vs gods or men. And the rather that all the space of their sicknesse, there was no man of ours knowne to die, or much sicke. They noted also we had no women, nor cared for any of theirs: some therefore thought we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortall, but that we were men of an old generation many yeares past, and risen againe from immortalitie. Some would Prophesie there were more of our generation yet to come, to kill theirs and take their places. Those that were to come after vs they imagined to be in the ayre, yet invisible and without bodies: and that they by our intreaties, for loue of vs, did make the people die as they did, by shooting invisible bullets into them.

To confirme this, their Physicians to excuse their Ignorance in curing the disease, would make the simple people beleeue, that the strings of bloud they sucked out of the sicke bodies, were the strings wherein the invisible bullets were tyed, and cast. Some thought we shot them our selues, from the place where we dwelt, and killed the people that had offended vs, as we listed, how farre distant soever. And others said it was the speciall worke of God for our sakes, as we had cause in some sort to thinke no lesse, whatever some doe, or may imagine to the contrary; especially some *Astrologers* by the eclipse of the Sunne we saw that yeare before our Voyage, and by a *Comet* which began to appeare but a few dayes before the sicknesse began: but to exclude them from being the speciall causes of so speciall an Accident.

there are farther reasons then I thinke fit to present or alledge.

These their opinions I haue set downe, that you may see there is hope to imbrace the truth, and honor, obey, feare and loue vs, by good dealing and gouernment: though some of our company towards the latter end, before we came away with Sir *Francis Drake* shewed themselues too furious, in slaying some of the people in some Townes, vpon causes that on our part might haue bin borne with more mildnesse; notwithstanding they iustly had deserued it. The best neverthelesse in this, as in all actions besides, is to be indevoured and hoped; and of the worst that may happen, notice to be taken with consideration; and as much as may be eschewed; the better to allure them hereafter to Civilitie and Christiantie.

Thus you may see, *How*

Nature her selfe delights her selfe in sundry Instruments,
That sundry things be done to decke the earth with Ornaments;
Nor suffers she her servants all should runne one race,
But wills the walke of every one frame in a divers pace;
That divers wayes and divers workes, the world might better grace.

Written by *Thomas Heriot*, one of the Voyage.

How Sir Richard Grenvill *went to relieue them.*

In the yeare of our Lord 1586. Sir *Walter Raleigh* and his Associates prepared a ship of a hundred tun, fraughted plentifully of all things necessary: but before they set sayle from *England* it was *Easter*. And arriving at *Hatorask*, they after some time spent in seeking the *Collony* vp in the Country, and not finding them, returned with all the provision againe to *England*.

About 14. or 15. dayes after, Sir *Richard Grenvill* accompanied with three ships well appoynted, arrived there. Who not finding the aforesaid ship according to his expectation, nor hearing any news of the *Collony* there seated, and left by him as is said 1585. travailing vp and downe to seeke them, but when he could heare no newes of them, and found their habitation abandoned, vnwilling to lose possession of the Country, after good deliberation he landed fiftie men in the Ile of *Roanoak*, plentifully furnished with all manner of provision for two yeares: and so returned for *England*.

Where many began strangely to discant of those crosse beginnings, and him; which caused me remember an old saying of *Euripides.*

> Who broacheth ought thats new, to fooles vntaught,
> Himselfe shall iudged be vnwise, and good for naught.

Three Ships more sent to relieue them by Mr. White.

We went the old course by the west *Indies*, and *Simon Ferdinando* our continuall Pilot mistaking *Virginia* for Cape *Fear*, we fayled not much to haue beene cast way, vpon the conceit of our all-knowing *Ferdinando*, had it not beene prevented by the vigilancy of Captaine *Stafford*. We came to *Hatorask* the 22. of Iuly, and with fortie of our best men, intending at *Rounoack* to find the 50 men left by Sir *Richard Grenvill.* But we found nothing but the bones of a man, and where the Plantation had beene, the houses vnhurt, but overgrowne with weeds, and the Fort defaced, which much perplexed vs.

By the History it seemes *Simon Ferdinando* did what he could to bring this voyage to confusion; but yet they all arrived at *Hatorask*. They repayred the old houses at *Roanock*, and Master *George How*, one of the Councell, stragling abroad, was slaine by the Salvages. Not long after Master *Stafford* with 20. men went to *Croatan* with *Manteo*, whose friends dwelled there: of whom we thought to have some news of our 50 men They at first made shew to fight, but when they heard *Manteo*, they threw away their Armes, and were friends, and desired there might be a token giuen to be knowne by, least we might hurt them by misprision, as the yeare before one had bin by Master *Layne*, that was ever their friend, and there present yet lame.

The next day we had conference with them concerning the people of *Secotan*, *Aquascogoc*, and *Pomeiok*, willing them of *Croatan* to see if they would accept our friendship, and renew our old acquaintance: which they willingly imbraced, and promised to bring their King and Governours to *Roanouk*, to confirme it. We also vnderstood that Master *Howe* was slaine by the men of *Wingina*, of *Dassamonpeack:* and by

them of *Roanoack*, that the fiftie men left by Sir *Richard Grenvill*, were suddainly set vpon by three hundred of *Secotan*, *Aquascogoc*, and *Dassamonpeack*. First they intruded themselues among 11 of them by friendship, one they slew, the rest retyring to their houses, they set them on fire, that our men with what came next to hand were forced to make their passage among them; where one of them was shot in the mouth, and presently dyed, and a Salvage slaine by him. On both sides more were hurt; but our men retyring to the water side, got their boat, and ere they had rowed a quarter of a myle towards *Hatorask*, they tooke vp foure of their fellowes, gathering Crabs and Oysters: at last they landed on a little Ile by *Hatorask*, where they remained a while, but after departed they knew not whether. So taking our leaues of the *Croatans*, we came to our Fleet at *Hatorask*.

The Governour having long expected the King and Governours of *Pomeiok*, *Secotan*, *Aquascogoc*, and *Dassamonpeack*, and the 7. dayes expired, and no newes of them, being also informed by those of *Croatan*, that they of *Dassamonpeack* slew Master *How*, and were at the driving our men from *Raonouck* he thought no longer to deferre the revenge. Wherefore about midnight, with Captaine *Stafford*, and twentie-foure men, whereof *Manteo* was one, for our guide, (that behaved himselfe towards vs as a most faithfull English man) he set forward.

The next day by breake of day we landed, and got beyond their houses, where seeing them sit by the fire we assaulted them. The miserable soules amazed fled into the Reeds, where one was shot through, and we thought to haue beene fully revenged, but we were deceiued, for they were our friends come from *Croatan* to gather their corne, because they vnderstood our enemies were fled after the death of Master *How*, and left all behinde them for the birds. But they had like to haue payd too deare for it; had we not chanced vpon a *Weroances* wife, with a childe at her backe, and a Salvage that knew Captaine *Stafford*, that ran to him calling him by his name. Being thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered the fruit we found ripe; left the rest vnspoyled, and tooke *Menatonon* his wife with her childe, and the rest with vs to *Roanoak*. Though this mistake grieued *Manteo*, yet he imputed it to their own folly, because they had not kept promise to come to the governor at the day appointed. The 13.

of August our Salvage *Mantco* was Christened, and called Lord of *Dassamonpeack*, in reward of his faithfulnesse. And the 18th, *Ellinor* the Governours daughter, and wife to *Ananias Dare*, was delivered of a daughter in *Roanoak;* which being the first Christian there borne, was called *Virginia.*

Our ships being ready to depart, such a storme arose, as the Admirall was forced to cut her Cables: and it was six dayes ere she could recover the shore, that made vs doubt she had beene lost, because the most of her best men were on shore. At this time Controversies did grow betwixt our Governour and the Assistants, about choosing one of them 12. to goe as Factor for them all to *England:* for all refused saue one, whom all men thought most insufficient: the Conclusion was by a generall consent, they would haue the Governour goe himselfe, for that they thought none would so truly procure there supplyes as he. Which though he did what he could to excuse it, yet their importunitie would not cease till he vndertooke it, and had it vnder all their hands. how vnwilling he was, but that necessity and reason did doubly constraine him. At their setting sayle for *England*, waighing Anchor, twelue of the men in the flyboat were throwne from the Capstern, by the breaking of a barre, and most of them so hurt, that some never recovered it. The second time they had the like fortune, being but 15. they cut the Cable and kept company with their Admirall to *Flowres* and *Coruos:* the Admirall stayed there looking for purchase: but the flyboats men grew so weake they were driuen to *Smerwick* in the West of *Ireland.* The Governour went for *England:* and *Simon Ferdinando* with much adoe at last arrived at *Portsmouth.* 1587.

The Names of those were landed in this Plantation were.

Iohn White Governour.
Roger Bayley.
Ananias Dare.
Simon Ferdinando.
Christopher Couper.
Thomas Stevens.
Iohn Samson.
Thomas Smith.
Dionis Haruie.
Roger Prat.
George How.
Antony Cage.

With divers others to the number of about 115.

The Fift Voyage to Virginia; *vndertaken by* Mr. Iohn White. 1589.

The 20 of March three ships went from *Plimouth*, and passed betwixt *Barbary* and *Mogadoro* to *Dominico* in the West *Indies*. After we had done some exployts in those parts, the third of August wee fell with the low sandy Iles westward of *Wokokon*. But by reason of ill weather it was the 11, ere we could Anchor there; and on the 12. we came to *Croatan*, where is a great breach in 35. degrees and a halfe, in the Northeast poynt of the Ile. The 15. we came to *Hatorask* in 36. degrees and a terse, at 4. fadom, 3 leagues from shore: where we might perceiue a smoake at the place where I left the Colony, 1587. The next morning Captaine *Cooke*, Captaine *Spicer*, and their companies, with two boats left our ships, and discharged some Ordnance to giue them notice of our comming, but when we came there, we found no man, nor signe of any that had beene there lately: and so returned to our Boats. The next morning we prepared againe for *Roanoack*. Captaine *Spicer* had then sent his Boat ashore for water, so it was ten of the Clocke ere we put from the ships, which rode two myles from the shore. The Admirals boat, being a myle before the other, as she passed the bar, a sea broke into the boat and filled her halfe full of water: but by Gods good will, and the carefull stearage of Captaine *Cook*, though our prouisions were much wet we safe escaped, the wind blew hard at Northeast, which caused so great a current and a breach vpon the barre; Captaine *Spicer* passed halfe over, but by the indiscreet steering of *Ralph Skinner*, their boat was overset, the men that could catch hold hung about her, the next sea cast her on ground, where some let goe their hold to wade to shore, but the sea beat them downe. The boat thus tossed vp and downe Captaine *Spicer* and *Skinner* hung there till they were drowne; but 4. that could swim a little, kept themselues in deeper water, were saued by the meanes of Captaine *Cook*, that presently vpon the oversetting of their boat, shipped himselfe to saue what he could. Thus of eleuen, seuen of the chiefest were drowned. This so discomfited all the Saylers, we had much to do to get them any more to seeke further for the Planters, but by their Captaines forwardnesse at last they fitted themselues againe for *Hatorask* in 2 boats, with 19. persons. It

was late ere we arrived, but seeing a fire through the woods, we sounded a Trumpet, but no answer could we heare. The next morning we went to it, but could see nothing but the grasse, and some rotten trees burning. We went vp and downe the Ile, and at last found three faire Roman Letters carved. *C. R. O.* which presently we knew to signifie the place where I should find them, according to a secret note betweene them and me: which was to write the name of the place they would be in, vpon some tree, dore, or post: and if they had beene in any distresse, to signifie it by making a crosse over it. For at my departure they intended to goe fiftie myles into the mayne. But we found no signe of distresse; then we went to a place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found them all taken downe, and the place strongly inclosed with a high Palizado, very Fortlike; and in one of the chiefe Posts carued in fayre capitall Letters *CROATAN*, without any signe of distresse, and many barres of Iron, two pigs of Lead, foure Fowlers, Iron shot, and such like heauie things throwne here and there, overgrowne with grasse and weeds. We went by the shore to seeke for their boats but could finde none, nor any of the Ordnance I left them. At last some of the Sailers found divers Chists had beene hidden and digged vp againe, and much of the goods spoyled, and scattered vp and downe, which when I saw, I knew three of them to be my owne; but bookes, pictures, and all things els were spoyled. Though it much grieued me, yet it did much comfort me that I did know they were at *Croatan;* so we returned to our Ships, but had like to haue bin cast away by a great storme that continued all that night.

The next morning we weighed Anchor for *Croatan:* having the Anchor a-pike, the Cable broke, by the meanes whereof we lost another: letting fall the third, the ship yet went so fast a drift, we fayled not much there to haue split. But God bringing vs into deeper water; considering we had but one Anchor, and our provision neare spent, we resolued to goe forthwith to S. *Iohns* Ile *Hispaniola*, or *Trinidado*, to refresh our selues and seeke for purchase that Winter, and the next Spring come againe to seeke our Country-men. But our *Vice Admirall* would not, but went directly for *England*, and we our course for *Trinidado*. But within two dayes after, the wind changing, we were constrained for the Westerne Iles to refresh our selues, where we met with many of

the Queenes ships our owne consort, and divers others, the 23. of Seeptember 1590. And thus we left seeking our Colony, that was neuer any of them found, nor seene to this day 1622. And this was the conclusion of this Plantation, after so much time, labour, and charge consumed. Whereby we see;

> Not all at once, nor all alike, nor euer hath it beene,
> That God doth offer and confer his blessings vpon men.

Written by Master *Iohn White.*

A briefe Relation of the Description of Elizabeths *Ile. and some others towards the North part of* Virginia; *and what els they discovered in the yeare* 1602. *by Captaine* Bartholomew Gosnoll, *and Captaine* Bartholomew Gilbert; *and divers* other Gentlemen their Associates.

ALL hopes of *Virginia* thus abandoned, it lay dead and obscured from 1590. till this yeare 1602. that Captaine *Gosnoll*, with 32. and himselfe in a small Barke, set sayle from *Dartmouth* vpon the 26. of March. Though the wind favoured vs not at the first, but forced vs as far Southward as the *Asores*, which was not much out of our way; we ran directly west from thence, whereby we made our iourney shorter then heretofore by 500. leagues: the weaknesse of our ship, the badnes of our saylers, and our ignorance of the coast, caused vs carry but a low sayle, that made our passage longer then we expected.

On fryday the 11. of May we made land, it was somewhat low, where appeared certaine hummocks or hills in it: the shore white sand, but verie rockie, yet overgrowne with fayre trees. Comming to an Anchor, 8 *Indians* in a Baske shallop, with mast and sayle came boldly aboord vs. It seemed by their signes and such things as they had, some Biskiners had fished there: being about the latitude of 43. But the harbour being naught, and doubting the weather, we went not ashore, but waighed, and stood to the Southward into the Sea. The next morning we found our selues imbayed with a mightie headland: within a league of the shore we

anchored, and Captaine *Gosnoll*, my selfe, and three others went to it in our boat, being a white sand and a bold coast. Though the weather was hot, we marched to the highest hils we could see: where we perceiued the headland part of the mayn neare invironed with Ilands. As we were returning to our ship, a good proper, lusty young man came to vs, with whom we had but small conference, and so we left him. Here in 5. or 6. houres we tooke more Cod then we knew what to do with, which made vs perswade our selues, there might be found a good fishing in March, Aprill, and May.

At length we came among these fayre Iles, some a league, 2. 3. 5. or 6. from the Mayne, by one of them we anchored. We found it foure myles in compasse, without house or inhabitant. In it is a lake neare a myle in circuit; the rest overgrowne with trees, which so well as the bushes, were so overgrowne with Vines, we could scarce passe them. And by the blossomes we might perceiue there would be plenty of Strawberries, Respises, Gousberries, and divers other fruits: besides, Deere and other Beasts we saw, and Cranes, Hernes, with divers other sorts of fowle; which made vs call it *Martha's Vineyard.*

The rest of the Iles are replenished with such like: very rocky, and much tinctured stone like Minerall. Though we met many *Indians*, yet we could not see their habitations: they gaue vs fish, Tobacco, and such things as they had. But the next Isle we arrived at was but two leagues from the Maine, and 16, myle about, invironed so with creekes and coves, it seemed like many Isles linked together by small passages like bridges. In it is many places of plaine grasse, and such other fruits, and berries as before were mentioned. In mid-May we did sow Wheat, Barley, Oats, and Pease, which in 14. dayes sprung vp 9. inches. The soyle is fat and lusty: the crust therof gray, a foot or lesse in depth. It is full of high timbred Okes, their leaues thrise so broad as ours: Cedar straight and tall, Beech, Holly, Walnut, Hazell, Cherry trees like ours, but the stalke beareth the blossom or fruit thereof like a cluster of Grapes, forty or fiftie in a bunch. There is a tree of Orange colour, whose barke in the filing is as smooth as Velvet. There is a lake of fresh water three myles in compasse, in the midst an Isle containing an acre or thereabout, overgrowne with wood: here are many Tortoises, and abundance of all sorts of foules, whose young ones we tooke and

eate at our pleasure. Grounds nuts as big as egges, as good as Potatoes, and 40. on a string, not two ynches vnder ground. All sorts of shell-fish, as Schalops, Mussels, Cockles, Crabs, Lobsters, Welks, Oysters, exceeding good and very great; but not to cloy you with particulars, what God and nature hath bestowed on those places, I refer you to the Authors owne writing at large. We called this Isle *Elizabeths* Isle, from whence we went right over to the mayne, where we stood a while as ravished at the beautie and dilicacy of the sweetnesse, besides divers cleare lakes, whereof we saw no end, and meadows very large and full of greene grasse, &c.

Here we espyed 7. Salvages, at first they expressed some feare, but by our courteous vsage of them, they followed vs to the necke of Land, which we thought had beene severed from the mayne, but we found it otherwise. Here we imagined was a river, but because the day was farre spent, we left to discover it till better leasure. But of good Harbours, there is no doubt, considering the Land is all rocky and broken lands. The next day we determined to fortifie our selues in the Isle in the lake. Three weekes we spent in building vs there a house. But the second day after our comming from the Mayne, 11. Canows with neare 50. Salvages came towards vs. Being vnwilling they should see our building, we went to, and exchanged with them Kniues, Hatchets, Beades, Bels, and such trifles, for some Bevers, Lyzards, Martins, Foxes, wilde Catteskinnes, and such like. We saw them haue much red Copper, whereof they make chaines, collars, and drinking cups, which they so little esteemed they would giue vs for small toyes, and signified vnto vs they had it out of the earth in the Mayne: three dayes they stayed with vs, but every night retyred two or three myle from vs: after with many signes of loue and friendship they departed seaven of them staying behind, that did helpe vs to dig and carry Saxafras, and doe any thing they could, being of a comely proportion and the best condition of any Salvages we had yet incountred. They haue no Beards but counterfeits, as they did thinke ours also was: for which they would haue changed with some of our men that had great beards. Some of the baser sort would steale; but the better sort, we found very civill and iust. We saw but three of their women, and they were but of meane stature, attyred in skins like the men, but fat and well favoured. The wholesomenesse and

temperature of this climate, doth not onely argue the people to be answerable to this Description, but also of a perfect constitution of body, actiue, strong healthfull, and very witty, as the sundry toyes by them so cunningly wrought may well testifie. For our selues, we found our selues rather increase in health and strength then otherwise; for all our toyle, bad dyet and lodging; yet not one of vs was touched with any sicknesse. Twelue intended here a while to haue stayed, but vpon better consideration, how meanely we were provided, we left this Island (with as many true sorrowfull eyes as were before desirous to see it) the 18. of Iune, and arrived at *Exmouth*, the 23 of Iuly.

But yet mans minde doth such it selfe explay,
As Gods great Will doth frame it every way,
And, Such thoughts men haue, on earth that doe but liue,
As men may craue, but God doth onely giue.

Written by *Iohn Brierton* one of the Voyage.

A Voyage of Captaine Martin Pring, *with two Barks from* Bristow, *for the North part of* Virginia. 1603.

By the inducements and perswasions of Mr *Richard Hackluite*, Mr *Iohn Whitson* being Maior, with his brethren the Aldermen, and most of the Merchants of the Citie of *Bristow*, raised a stocke of 1000l. to furnish out two Barkes, the one of 50. tuns, with 30. men and boyes, the other 26. tuns, with 13. men and boyes, having *Martin Pring* an vnderstanding Gentleman, and a sufficient Mariner for Captaine, and *Robert Salterne* his Assistant, who had bin with Captaine *Gosnoll* there the yeare before for Pilot. Though they were much crossed by contrary windes vpon the coast of *England*, and the death of that ever most memorable, miracle of the world, our most deare soveraigne Lady and Queene *Elizabeth:* yet at last they passed by the westerne Isles, and about the 7. of Iune, fell vpon the north part of *Virginia*, about the degrees of fortie three. Where they found plentie of most sorts of fish, and saw a high country full of great woods of sundry sorts. As they ranged the coast at a place they named *Whitson Bay*, they were kindly vsed by the Natiues, that came to them, in troupes, of tents, twenties, and thirties, and

sometimes more. But because in this Voyage for most part they followed the course of Captaine *Gosnoll,* and haue made no relation but to the same effect he writ before, we will thus conclude.

Lay hands vnto this worke with all thy wit,
But pray that God would speed and profit it.

Robert Salterne.

A relation of a Discovery towards the Northward of Virginia, *by Captaine* George Waymouth 1605, *imployed thether by the right Honorable* Thomas Arundell, *Baron of* Warder, *in the Raigne of our most royall King* IAMES.

VPON tuesday the fift of March we set sayle from *Ratcliffe,* but by contrary winds we were forced into *Dartmouth* till the last of this moneth, then with 29. as good sea men, and all necessary provisions as could possibly be gotten, we put to sea, and the 24 of Aprill fell with *Flowres* and *Coruos.* We intended as we were directed towards the Southward of 39. But the winds so crossed vs wee fell more Northwards about 41. and 20. minuits, we sounded at 100. farthom, and by that we had run 6 leagues we had but 5. yet saw no land; from the mayne top we descryed a whitish sandy clift, West North-west some 6. leagues from vs, but ere we had run two leagues further we found many shoules and breaches, sometimes in 4. fadom and the next throw 15. or 18. Being thus imbayed among those shoules, we were constrained to put back againe, which we did with no small danger, though both the winde and weather were as fayre as we could desire. Thus we parted from the Land, which we had not before so much desired, and at the first sight reioyced, as now we all ioyfully praysed God that he had delivered vs from so eminent danger. Here we found excellent Cod, and saw many Whales as we had done 2. or 3. daies before. Being thus constrained to put to sea, the want of wood and water caused vs take the best advantage of winde, to fall with the shore wheresoever: but we found our Sea cards most directly false. The 17. of May we made the Land againe, but it blew so hard, we durst not approach it. The next day

it appeared to vs a mayne high land, but we found it an Island of 6. myles in compasse: within a league of it we came to an anchor, and went on shore for wood and water, of which we found sufficient. The water gushing forth downe the rocky clifts in many places, which are all overgrown with Firre, Birch, Beech, and Oke, as the Verge is with Gousberries, Strawberries, wild Pease, and Rose bushes, and much foule of divers sorts that breed among the rockes: here as in all places els where we came, we found Cod enough.

From hence we might deseerne the mayne land and very high mountaines, the next day because we rode too open to the Sea, we waighed, and came to the Isles adioyning to the mayn: among which we found an excellent rode, defended from all windes, for ships of any burthen, in 6.7.8.9 or 10. fadom vpon a clay oze. This was vpon a Whitsonday, wherefore we called it *Pentecost Harbour.* Here I cannot omit for foolish feare of imputation of flattery, the painfull industry of our Captaine, who as at Sea he was alwayes most carefull and vigilant, so at land he refused no paines: but his labour was ever as much or rather more then any mans; which not onely incouraged others with better content, but also effected much with great expedition. We digged a Garden the 22. of May, where among our gardenseeds we sowed Pease and Barley, which in 16. dayes grew vp 8. ynches, although this was but the crust of the ground, and much inferiour to the mould we after found in the mayne.

After we had taken order for all our necessary businesses. we marched through two of these Isles. The biggest was 4. or 5. myles in compasse; we found here all sorts of ordinary trees, besides, Vines, Currants, Spruce, Yew, Angelica, and divers gummes: in so much many of our company wished themselues setled here. Vpon the 30. our Captaine with 13. went to discover the mayne: we in the ship espyed 3. Canowes that came towards the ship. Which after they had well viewed, one of them came aboord with 3. men, and by our good vsage of them not long after the rest, two dayes we had their companies, in all respects they are but like them at *Elizabeths* Isles, therefore this may suffice for their description. In this time our Captain had discovered a fayre river, trending into the mayne 40 myles, and returned backe to bring in the ship. The Salvages also kept their words and brought vs 40. Bever. Oter, and sable skins, for the value of .5. shillings in kniues,

glasses, combes, and such toyes, and thus we vsed them so kindly as we could, because we intended to inhabit in their Country, they lying aboord with vs and we ashore with them; but it was but as changing man for man as hostages; and in this manner many times we had their companies.

At last they desired our Captaine to goe with them to the mayne to trade with their *Bashabes*, which is their chiefe Lord, which we did, our boat well manned with 14. yet would they row faster with 3. Ores in their Canowes then we with 8. but when we saw our old acquaintance, would not stay aboord vs as before for hostage, but did what they could to draw vs into a narrow cirke, we exchanged one *Owen Griffin* with them for a yong fellow of theirs, that he might see if he could discover any trechery, as he did; for he found there assembled 283. Salvages with bowes and arrows, but not any thing at all to trade as they pretended. These things considered, we conceited them to be but as all Salvages ever had beene, kinde till they found opportunitie to do mischiefe.— Wherefore we determined to take some of them, before they should suspect we had discovered their plot, lest they should absent themselues from vs, so the first that ever after came into the ship were three which we kept, and two we tooke on shore with much adoe, with two Canowes, their bowes and arrowes.

Some time we spent in sounding all the Isles, channels, and inlets, thereabouts, and we found 4. severall waies a ship might be brought into this Bay. In the interim there came 2 Canowes more boldly aboord vs, signifying we should bring our ship where he dwelt to trade. We excused our selues why we could not, but vsed them kindly, yet got them away with all the speede we could, that they should not be perceiued by them in the houle, then we went vp the river 26. myles, of which I had rather not write, then by my relation detract from it, it is in breadth a myle, neare 40. myles; and a channel of 6. 7. 8. 9. or 10. fadom, and on both sides every halfe myle gallant Coues, to containe in many of them 100 sayle, where they may lye on Oze without Cable or Anchor, onely mored with a Hanser, and it floweth 18. foot, that you may make, dock, or carine ships with much facilitie: besides the land is most rich, trending all along on both sides in an equall plaine, neither rocky nor mountainous, but verged with a greene border of grasse, doth make tender to the beholder

her pleasant fertilitie, if by cleansing away the woods she were converted into meadow.

The woods are great, and tall, such as are spoken of in the Islelands, and well watered with many fresh springs. Our men that had seene *Orunoque* so famous in the worlds eares, *Reogrande*, *Loyer*, and *Slion*, report, though they be great and goodly rivers, yet are not comparable to it. Leaving our ship we went higher, till we were 7. myles higher then the salt water flowed; we marched towards the mountaines we had seene; but the weather was so hot, and our labour so great, as our Captaine was contented to returne: after we had erected a crosse we left this faire land and river, in which the higher we went the better we liked it, and returned to our ship. By the way we met a Canow that much desired one of our men to go vp to their *Basshabes;* but we knew their intents, and so turned them off; and though we had both time and provision to haue discovered much more, and might haue found peradventure good trade, yet because our company was but small, we would not hazard so hopefull a businesse as this was, either for our private, or particular ends, being more regardfull of a publicke good, and promulgating Gods holy Church by planting Christianity, which was the intent of our adventurers so well as ours: returning by the Isles in the entry of the Sound we called them St. *Georges* Isles, and because on sunday we set out of *England*, on sunday also the 16. of Iune we departed hence. When we had run 30. leagues we had 40. fadom, then 70. then 100. After 2. or 3. watches more we were in 24. fadoms, where we tooke so much Cod as we did know what to doe with, and the 18. of Iuly came to *Dartmouth*, and all our men as well God be thanked as when they went forth.

Thus you may see;

God hath not all his gifts bestowed on all or any one,
Words sweetest, and wits sharpest, courage, strength of bone,
All rarities of minde and parts doe all concurre in one.

Written by *Iames Rosier*, one of the Voyage.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

THE SIXT VOYAGE. 1606.

TO ANOTHER PART OF VIRGINIA,

WHERE NOW ARE PLANTED OUR ENGLISH COLONIES, WHOM GOD INCREASE AND PRESERUE:

DISCOVERED AND DESCRIBED

By CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH,

Sometimes Governour of the Countrey.

By these former relations you may see what inconveniences still crossed those good intents, and how great a matter it was all this time to finde but a Harbour, although there be so many. But this *Virginia* is a Country in *America* betweene the degrees of 34. and 45. of the North latitude.—The bounds thereof on the East side are the great *Ocean:* on the South lyeth *Florida:* on the North *nova Francia:* as for the West thereof, the limits are vnknowne. Of all this Country we purpose not to speake, but onely of that part which was planted by the *English men* in the yeare of our Lord, 1606. *And this is vnder the degrees 37. 38. and 39.* The temperature of this Country doth agree well with *English* constitutions, being once seasoned to the Country.—Which appeared by this, that though by many occasions our people fell sicke; yet did they recover by very small meanes, and continued in health, though there were other great causes, not onely to haue made them sicke, but even to end their dayes, &c.

The Sommer is hot as in *Spaine;* the Winter cold as in *France* or *England.* The heat of sommer is in Iune, Iuly, and August, but commonly the coole Breeses asswage the vehemency of the heat. The chiefe of winter is halfe December, Ianuary, February, and halfe March. The colde is

extreame sharpe, but here the Proverbe is true, that *no extreame long continueth.*

In the yeare 1607. was an extraordinary frost in most of *Europe*, and this frost was found as extreame in *Virginia.* But the next yeare for 8. or 10. dayes of ill weather, other 14 dayes would be as Sommer.

The windes here are variable, but the like thunder and lightning to purifie the ayre, I haue seldome either seene heard in *Europe.* From the Southwest came the great gusts with thunder and heat. The Northwest winde is commonly coole and bringeth faire weather with it. From the North is the greatest cold, and from the East and Southeast as from the *Barmudas*, fogs and raines.

Sometimes there are great droughts, other times much raine, yet great necessitie of neither, by reason we see not but that all the raritie of needful fruits in *Europe*, may be there in great plentie, by the industry of men, as appeareth by those we there Planted.

There is but one entrance by Sea into this Country, and that is at the mouth of a very goodlȳ Bay, 18. or 20. myles broad. The cape on the South is called *Cape Henry*, in honour of our most noble Prince. The land white hilly sands like vnto the Downes, and all along the shores great plentie of Pines and Firres.

The North *Cape* is called *Cape Charles*, in honour of the worthy Duke of *Yorke.* The Isles before it, *Smith's* Isles, by the name of the discover. Within is a country that may haue the prerogatiue over the most pleasant places knowne, for large and pleasant navigable Rivers, heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation; were it fully manured and inhabited by industrious people. Here are mountaines, hils, plaines, valleyes, rivers, and brookes, all running most pleasantly into a faire Bay, compassed but for the mouth, with fruitfull and delightsome land. In the Bay and rivers are many Isles both great and small, some woody, some plaine, most of them low and not inhabited. This bay lyeth North and South, in which the water floweth neare 200. myles, and hath a channell for 140 myles of depth betwixt 6 and 15 fadome, holding a breadth for the most part 10 or 14 myles. From the head of the Bay to the Northwest, the land is mountanous, and so in a manner from thence by a Southwest line; so that the more

Southward, the farther off from the Bay are those mountaines. From which fall certaine brookes which after come to fiue principall navigable rivers. These run from the Northwest into the Southeast, and so into the West side of the Bay, where the fall of every River is within 20 or 15 myles one of the other.

The mountaines are of divers natures: for at the head of the Bay the rockes are of a composition like Mill stones. Some of Marble, &c. And many peeces like Christall we found, as throwne downe by water from those mountaines. For in Winter they are covered with much snow, and when it dissolveth the waters fall with such violence, that it causeth great inundations in some narrow valleys, which is scarce perceived being once in the rivers. These waters wash from the rocks such glistering tinctures, that the ground in some places seemeth as guilded, where both the rocks and the earth are so splendent to behold, *that better iudgements then ours might haue beene perswaded, they contained more then probabilities*. The vesture of the earth in most places doth manifestly proue the nature of the soyle to be lusty and very rich. The colour of the earth we found in diverse places, resembleth *bole Armoniac, terra a sigillata*, and *Lemnia*, Fullers earth, Marle, and divers and other such appearances. But generally for the most part it is a blacke sandy mould, in some places a fat slimy clay, in other places a very barren gravell. But the best ground is knowne by the vesture it beareth, as by the greatnesse of trees, or abundance of weeds, &c.

The Country is not mountanous, nor yet low, but such pleasant plaine hils, and fertile valleyes, one prettily crossing another, and watered so conveniently with fresh brookes and springs, no lesse commodious, then delightsome. By the rivers are many plaine marishes, containing some 20 some 100. some 200 Acres, some more, some lesse. Other plaines there are few, but onely where the Salvages inhabit: but all overgrowne with trees and weeds, being a plaine wildernesse as God first made it.

On the west side of the Bay, we sayd were 5. faire and delightfull navigable rivers. The first of those, and the next to the mouth of the Bay hath his course from the West Northwest. It is called *Powhatan*, according to the name of a principall countrey that lyeth vpon it. The mouth of this river is neare three myles in breadth, *yet doe the shoules force*

the Channell so neare the land, that a Sarce will overshoot it at point blancke. It is navigable 150 *myles, the shouldes and soundings are here needlesse to be expressed.* It falleth from Rockes farre west in a Country inhabited by a nation they call *Monacans.* But where it commeth into our discovery it is *Powhatan.* In the farthest place that was diligently observed, are falles, rockes, shoules, &c. which makes it past navigation *any higher.* Thence in the running downeward, the river is enriched with many goodly brookes, which are maintained by an infinit number of small rundles and pleasant springs, that disperse themselues for the best service, as do the veines of a mans body. From the South there fals into it: First, the pleasaut river of *Apamatuck.* Next more to the East are two small rivers of *Quiyoughcohanocke.* A little farther is a Bay wherein falleth 3 or 4 prettie brookes and creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of *Warraskoyac,* then the river of *Nandsamund,* and lastly the brooke of *Chisapeack.* From the North side is the river of *Chickahamania,* the backe river of *Iames* Towne; another by the *Cedar Isle,* where we liued ten weekes vpon Oysters, then a convenient harbour for Fisher boats at *Kecoughtan,* that so turneth it selfe into Bayes and Creekes, it makes that place very pleasant to inhabit; their cornefields being girded therein in a manner as *Peninsulaes.* The most of these rivers are inhabited by severall nations, or rather families, of the name of the rivers. They haue also over those some Governour, as their King, which they call *Werowances.* In a *Peninsula* on the North side of this river are the *English* Planted in a place by them called *Iames* Towne, in honour of the Kings most excellent Maiestie.

The first and next the rivers mouth are the *Kecoughtans,* who besides their women and children, haue not past 20. fighting men. The *Paspaheghes* (on whose land is seated *Iames* Towne, some 40. myles from the *Bay)* haue not past 40. The river called *Chickahamania* neare 250. The *Weanocks* 100. The *Arrowhatocks* 30. The place called *Powhatan,* some 40. On the South side this river the *Appamatucks* haue sixtie fighting men. The *Quiyougcohanocks* 25. The *Nandsamunds* 200. The *Chesapeacks* 100. Of this last place the *Bay* beareth the name. In all these places is a severall commander, which they call *Werowance,* except the *Chickahamanians,* who are governed by the Priests and their

Assistants, or their Elders called *Caw-cawwassoughes.* In sommer no place affordeth more plentie of *Sturgeon,* nor in winter more abundance of foule, especially in the time of frost. I tooke once 52 Sturgeons at a draught, at another 68. From the later end of May till the end of Iune are taken few, but yong Sturgeons of two foot, or a yard long. From thence till the midst of September, them of two or three yards long and few others. And in 4 or 5, houres with one Net were ordinarily taken 7 or 8: often more, seldome lesse. In the small rivers all the yeare there is good plentie of small fish, so that with hookes those that would take paines had sufficient.

Foureteene myles Northward from the river *Powhatan,* is the river *Pamavnkee, which is navigable* 60 *or* 70 *myles, but with Catches and small Barkes* 30 *or* 40 *myles farther.* At the ordinary flowing of the salt water, it divideth it selfe into two gallant branches. On the South side inhabit the people of *Youghtanund,* who haue about 60 men for warres. On the North branch *Mattapament,* who haue 30 men. Where this river is divided the Country is called *Pamavnkee* and nourisheth neare 300 able men. About 25. myles lower on the North side of this river is *Werawocomoco,* where their great King inhabited when I was delivered him prisoner; yet there are not past 40 able men. Ten or twelue myles lower, on the South side of this river, is *Chiskiack,* which hath some 40 or 50 men. These, as also *Apamatuck, Irrohatock,* and *Powhatan,* are their great Kings chiefe alliance, and inhabitants. The rest his Conquests.

Before we come to the third river that falleth from the mountaines, there is another river *(some* 30 *myles navigable)* that commeth from the Inland, called *Payankatanke,* the Inhabitants are about 50 or 60 serviceable men.

The third navigable river is called *Toppahanock. (This is navigable some* 130 *myles)* At the top of it inhabit the people called *Mannahoacks* amongst the mountaines, but they are aboue the place we described. Vpon this river on the North side are the people *Cuttatawomen,* with 30 fighting men.—Higher are the *Moraughtacunds,* with 80. Beyond them *Rapahanock* with 100. Far aboue is another *Cuttatawomen* with 20. On the South is the pleasant seat of *Nantaughtacund* having 150 men. This river also as the two former, is replenished with fish and foule.

The fourth river is called *Patawomeke*, 6 or 7 myles in breadth. *It is navigable* 140 *myles*, and fed as the rest with many sweet rivers and springs, which fall from the bordering hils. These hils many of them are planted, and yeeld no lesse plentie and varietie of fruit, then the river exceedeth with abundance of fish. It is inhabited on both sides. First on the South side at the very entrance is *Wighcocomoco* and hath some 130 men, beyond them *Sekacawone* with 30.—The *Onawmanient* with 100. And the *Patawomekes* more then 200. Here doth the river divide itselfe into 3 or 4 convenient branches. The greatest of the least is called *Quiyough*, trending Northwest, but the river it selfe turneth Northeast, and is still a navigable streame. On the Westerne side of this bought is *Tauxenent* with 40 men. On the North of this river is *Secowocomoco* with 40. Somewhat further *Potapaco* with 20. In the East part is *Pamacaeack* with 60. After *Moyowance* with 100. And lastly, *Nocotchtanke* with 80. The river aboue this place maketh his passage downe a low pleasant valley overshaddowed in many places with high rocky mountaines; from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant springs.

The fift river is called *Pawtuxunt*, of a lesse proportion then rest; but the channell is 16 fadome deepe in some places. Here are infinit skuls of divers kindes of fish more then elswhere. Vpon this river dwell the people called *Acquintanacksuak*, *Pawtuxunt*, and *Mattapanient*. Two hundred men was the greatest strength that could be there perceived. But they inhabit together, and not so dispersed as the rest. These of all other we found most civill to giue intertainement.

Thirtie leagues Northward is a river not inhabited, yet navigable; for the red clay resembling *bole Armoniack* we called it *Bolus*. At the end of the Bay where it is 6 or 7 myles in breadth, it divides it selfe into 4. branches, the best commeth Northwest from among the mountaines, but though Canows may goe a dayes iourney or two vp it, we could not get two myles vp it with our boat for rockes. Vpon it is seated the *Sasquesahanocks*, neare it North and by West runneth a creeke a myle and a halfe: at the head whereof the Eble left vs on shore, where we found many trees cut with hatchets. The next tyde keeping the shore to seeke for some Salvages; (for within thirtie leagues sayling, we saw not

any, being a barren Country,) we went vp another small river like a creeke 6 or 7 myle. From thence returning we met 7 Canowes of the *Massowomeks*, with whom we had conference by signes, for we vnderstood one another scarce a word: the next day we discovered the small river and people of *Tockwhogh* trending Eastward.

Having lost our Grapnell among the rocks of *Sasquesahanocks*, we were then neare 200 myles from home, and our Barge about two tuns, and had in it but twelve men to performe this Discovery, wherein we lay about 12 weekes vpon those great waters in those vnknowne Countries, having nothing but a little meale, oatemeale and water to feed vs, and scarce halfe sufficient of that for halfe that time, but what provision we got among the Salvages, and such rootes and fish as we caught by accident, and Gods direction; nor had we a Mariner nor any had skill to trim the sayles but two saylers and my selfe, the rest being Gentlemen, or them were as ignorant in such toyle and labour. Yet necessitie in a short time by good words and examples made them doe that that caused them ever after to feare no colours. What I did with this small meanes I leaue to the Reader to iudge, and the Mappe I made of the Country, which is but a small matter in regard of the magnitude thereof. But to proceed, 60 of those *Sasquesahanocks* came to vs with skins, Bowes, Arrows, Targets, Beads, Swords, and Tobacco pipes for presents. Such great and well proportioned men are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring vs as Gods. Those are the strangest people of all those Countries, both in language and attire; for their lauguage it may well beseeme their proportions, sounding from them, as a voyce in a vault. Their attire is the skinnes of Beares, and Woolues, some haue Cassacks made of Beares heads and skinnes, that a mans head goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the Beare fastened to his shoulders, the nose and teeth hanging downe his breast, another Beares face split behind him, aud at the end of the nose hung a Pawe, the halfe sleeues comming to the elbowes were the neckes of Beares, and the armes through the mouth with pawes hanging at their noses. One had the head of a Wolfe hanging in a chaine for a Iewell, his Tobacco pipe three quarters of a

yard long, prettily carued with a Bird, a Deere, or some such devise at the great end, sufficient to beat out ones braines: with Bowes, Arrowes. and clubs, sutable to their greatnesse. These are scarce knowne to *Powhatan.* They can make neare 600 able men. and are pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from the *Massawomekes* their mortall enemies. Fiue of their chiefe *Werowances* came aboord vs and crossed the *Bay* in their Barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mappe. The calfe of whose leg was three quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion, that he seemed the goodliest man we ever beheld. His hayre, the one side was long, the other shore close with a ridge over his crowne like a cocks combe. His arrowes were fiue quarters long, headed with the splinters of a white christall-like stone, in forme of a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. These he wore in a Woolues skinne at his backe for his Quiver, his bow in the one hand and his clubbe in the other, as is described.

On the East side the *Bay*, is the river *Tockwhogh*, and vpon it a people that can make 100 men, seated some seaven myles within the river: where they haue a Fort very well pallisadoed and mantelled with barkes of trees. Next them is *Ozinies* with sixty men. More to the South of that East side of the *Bay*, the river *Rapahanock*, neere vnto which is the river *Kuscarawaock.* Vpon which is seated a people with 200 men. After that, is the river *Tants Wighcocomico*, and on it a people with 100 men. The people of those rivers are of little stature, of another language from the rest, and very rude. But they on the river *Acohanock* with 40 men, and they of *Accomack* 80 men doth equalize any of the Territories of *Powhatan*, anb speake his language, who over all those doth rule as King.

Southward we went to some parts of *Chawonock* and the *Mangoags* to search for them left by Mr *White.* Amongst those people are thus many severall Nations of sundry Languages, that environ *Powhatans* Territories. The *Chawonockes*, the *Mangoags*, the *Monacans*, the *Mannahokes*, the *Masawomekes*, the *Powhatans*, the *Sasquesahanocks*, the *Atquanachukes*, the *Tockwoghes*, and the *Kuscarawaokes.* All those not any one vnderstandeth another but by Interpreters. Their severall habitations are more plainly described by

this annexed Mappe, which will present to the eye, the way of the mountaines, and current of the rivers, with their severall turnings, bayes, shoules, Isles, Inlets, and creekes, the breadth of the waters, the distances of places, and such like. In which Mappe obserue this, that as far as you see the little Crosses on rivers, mountaines, or other places haue beene discovered; the rest was had by information of the Savages, and are set downe according to their instructions.

Thus haue I walkt a wayless way, with vncouth pace,
Which yet no Christian man did ever trace:
But yet I know this not affects the minde,
Which eares doth heare; as that which eyes doe finde.

Of such things which are naturally in Virginia, *and how they vse them.*

Virginia doth afford many excellent vegetables, and liuing Creatures, yet grasse there is little or none, but what groweth in low Marishes: for all the Countrey is overgrowne with trees, whose droppings continually turneth their grasse to weeds, by reason of the rancknes of the ground, which would soone be amended by good husbandry. The wood that is most common is Oke and Walnut, many of their Okes are so tall and straight, that they will beare two foote and a halfe square of good timber for 20 yards long; Of this wood there is two or three severall kinds. The Acornes of one kinde, whose barke is more white then the other, and somewhat sweetish, which being boyled, at last affords a sweet oyle, that they keepe in gourds to annoint their heads and ioynts. The fruit they eate made in bread or otherwise. There is also some Elme, some blacke Walnut tree, and some Ash: of Ash and Elme they make sope Ashes. If the trees be very great, the Ashes will be good, and melt to hard lumps, but if they be small, it will be but powder, and not so good as the other. Of walnuts there is 2 or 3 kindes; there is a kinde of wood we called Cypres, because both the wood, the fruit, and leafe did most resemble it, and of those trees there are some neare three fadome about at the foot, very-straight, and 50, 60, or 80 foot without a branch. By the dwelling of the Salvages are some great Mulbery trees, and in some parts of the

Countrey, they are found growing naturally in prettie groues. There was an assay made to make silke, and surely the wormes prospered excellent well, till the master workeman fell sicke. During which time they were eaten with Rats.

In some parts were found some Chesnuts whose wild fruit equalize the best in *France, Spaine, Germany, or Italy.*—Plums there are of three sorts. The red and white are like our hedge plums, but the other which they call *Putchamins*, grow as high as a *Palmeta:* the fruit is like a Medler; it is first greene, then yellow, and red when it is ripe; if it be not ripe; it will draw a mans mouth awry, with much torment, but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an Apricot.

They haue Cherries, and those are much like a Damson, but for their tastes and colour we called them Cherries. We saw some few Crabs, but very small and bitter. Of vines great abundance in many parts that climbe the toppes of highest trees in some places, but these beare but few grapes. Except by the rivers and savage habitations, where they are not overshadowed from the sunne, they are covered with fruit, though never pruined nor manured. Of those hedge grapes we made neere twentie gallons of wine, which was like our French Brittish wine, but certainely they would proue good were they well manured. There is another sort of grape neere as great as a Cherry, this they call *Messamins*, they be fatte, and the iuyce thicke. Neither doth the taste so well please when they are made in wine. They haue a small fruit growing on little trees, husked like a Chesnut, but the fruit most like a very small Acorne. This they call *Chechinquamins*, which they esteeme a great daintie. They haue a berry much like our Gooseberry, in greatnesse, colour, and tast; those they call *Rawcomens*, and doe eat them raw or boyled. Of these naturall fruits they liue a great part of the yeare, which they vse in this manner: The Walnuts, Chesnuts, Acornes, and *Chechinquamins* are dryed to keepe. When they need Walnuts they breake them between two stones, yet some part of the shels will cleaue to the fruit. Then doe they dry them againe vpon a Mat over a hurdle. After they put it into a morter of wood, and beat it very small: that done they mixt it with water, that the shels may sinke to the bottome. This water will be coloured as milke, which they call *Pawcohiccora*, and keepe it for their vse. The fruit like Medlers they call *Putchamins*, they cast vpon

hurdles on a Mat. and preserue them as Pruines. Of their Chesnuts and *Checkinquamins* boyled, they make both broath and bread for their chiefe men, or at their greatest feasts.—Besides those fruit trees, there is a white Popular, and another tree like vnto it, that yeeldeth a very cleare and an odoriferous *Gumme* like *Turpentine*, which some called *Balsom.* There are also *Cedars* and *Saxafras* trees. They also yeeld gummes in a small proportion of themselues. Wee tryed conclusions to extract it out of the wood, but nature afforded more then our arts.

In the watry valleyes groweth a Berry which they call *Ocoughtanamnis* very much like vnto Capers. These they dry in sommer. When they eat them they boile them neare halfe a day; for otherwise they differ not much from poyson. *Mattoum* groweth as our Bents. The seed is not much vnlike to Rie, though much smaller. This they vse for a daintie bread buttered with deare suet.

During Sommer there are either Strawberries, which ripen in Aprill, or Mulberries which ripen in May and Iune.—Raspises, hurts; or a fruit that the inhabitants call *Maracocks,* which is a pleasant wholesome fruit much like a Lemond. Many herbes in the spring are comonly dispersed throughout the woods, good for brothes and sallets, as Violets, Purslain, Sorrell, &c. Besides many we vsed whose names we know not.

The chiefe root they haue for food is called *Tockawhoughe.* It groweth like a flagge in Marishes. In one day a Salvage will gather sufficient for a weeke. These rootes are much of the greatnesse and taste of *Potatoes.* They vse to cover a great many of them with Oke leaues and Ferne, and then cover all with earth in the manner of a Colepit: over it, on each side, they continue a great fire 24 houres before they dare eat it. Raw it is no better then poyson, and being rosted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or sliced and dryed in the Sunne, mixed with sorrell and meale or such like, it will prickle and torment the throat extreamely, and yet in sommer they vse this ordinarily for bread.

They haue another roote which they call *Wighsacan:* as th'other feedeth the body, so this cureth their hurts and diseases. It is a small root which they bruise and apply to the wound. *Pocones* is a small root that groweth in the mountaines, which being dryed and beate in powder, turneth red.

And this they vse for swellings, aches, annointing their ioynts, painting their heads and garments. They account it very precious, and of much worth. *Musquaspen* is a roote of the bignesse of a finger, and as red as bloud. In drying, it will wither almost to nothing. This they vse to paint their Mattes, Targets, and such like.

There is also *Pellitory of Spaine*, *Sasafrage*, and divers other simples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and commended to be good, and medicinable.

In the low Marishes grow plots of Onyons, containing an Acre of ground or more in many places: but they are small, not past the bignesse of the top of ones Thumbe.

Of beasts the chiefe are Deere, nothing differing from ours. In the deserts towards the heads of the rivers, there are many, but a mongst the rivers few. There is a beast they call *Aroughcun*, much like a badger, but vseth to liue on trees as Squirrels doe. Their Squirrels some are neare as great as our smallest sort of wilde Rabbets, some blackish or blacke and white, but the most are gray.

A small beast they haue they call *Assapanick*, but we call them flying Squirrels, because spreading their legs, and so stretching the largenesse of their skins, that they haue beene seene to fly 30 or 40 yards. An *Opassom* hath a head like a Swine, and a taile like a Rat, and is of the bignesse of a Cat. Vnder her belly shee hath a bagge, wherein she lodgeth, carrieth, and suckleth her young. A *Mussascus* is a beast of the forme and nature of our water Rats, but many of them smell exceeding strongly of Muske. Their Hares no bigger then our Conies, and few of them to be found.

Their Beares are very little in comparison of those of *Muscovia* and *Tartaria*. The Beaver is as big as an ordinary water dog, but his legs exceeding short. His forefeete like a dogs, his hinder feet like a Swans. His taile somewhat like the forme of a Racket, bare without haire, which to eat the Salvages esteeme a great delicate. They haue many *Otters*, which as the *Beavers* they take with snares, and esteeme the skins great ornaments, and of all those beasts they vse to feed when they catch them. An *Vtchunquoyes* is like a wilde Cat. Their Foxes are like our silver haired Conies, of a small proportion, and not smelling like those in *England*. Their Dogges of that Country are like their Woolues, and cannot barke but howle, and the Woolues not much

bigger then our English Foxes. Martins, Powlecats, Weesels, and Minkes we know they haue, because we haue seene many of their skinnes, though very seldome any of them aliue. But one things is strange, that we could never perceiue their Vermine destroy our Hennes, Egges, nor Chickens, nor doe any hurt, nor their flyes nor serpents any way pernicious, where in the South parts of *America* they are alwayes dangerous, and often deadly.

Of Birds the Eagle is the greatest devourer. Hawkes there be of divers sorts, as our Falconers called them: *Sparrowhawkes*, *Lanarets*, *Goshawkes*, *Falcons*, and *Osperayes*, but they all prey most vpon fish. Their Partridges are little bigger then our Quailes. Wilde Turkies are as bigge as our tame. There are Woosels or Blackbirds with red shoulders, Thrushers and divers sorts of small Birds, some red, some blew, scarce so bigg as a Wrenne, but few in Sommer. In Winter there are great plentie of Swans, Cranes, gray and white with blacke wings, Herons, Geese, Brants, Ducke, Wigeon, Dotterell, Oxeies, Parrats, and Pigeons. Of all those sorts great abundance, and some other strange kinds, to vs vnknowne by name. But in Sommer not any, or a very few to be seene.

Of fish we were best acquainted with Sturgeon, Grampus, Porpus, Seales, *Stingraies*, whose tailes are very dangerous. Bretts, Mullets, white Salmonds, Trowts, Soles, Plaice, Herrings, Conyfish, Rockfish, Eeles, Lampreys, Catfish, Shades, Pearch of three sorts, Crabs, Shrimps, Crevises, Oysters, Cocles, and Muscles. But the most strange fish is a small one, so like the picture of St *George* his Dragon, as possible can be, except his legs and wings, and the Toadefish, which will swell till it be like to burst, when it commeth into the ayre.

Concerning the entrailes of the earth, little can be said for certaintie. There wanted good Refiners: for those that tooke vpon them to haue skill this way, tooke vp the washings from the mountaines, and some moskered shining stones and spangles which the waters brought downe, flattering themselues in their owne vaine conceits to haue beene supposed what they were not, by the meanes of that ore, if it proued as their arts and iudgements expected. Onely this is certaine, that many regions lying in the same latitude, afford Mines very rich of divers natures. The crust also of these rockes would

easily perswade a man to beleeue there are other Mines then yron and steele, if there were but meanes and men of experience that knew the Mine from *Spar*.

Of their Planted fruits in Virginia, *and how they vse them.*

They divide the yeare into fiue seasons. Their winter some call *Popanow*, the spring *Cattapeuk*, the sommer *Cohattayough*, the earing of their Corne *Nepinough*, the harvest and fall of leafe *Taquitock*. From September vntill the midst of November are the chiefe feasts and sacrifice. Then haue they plentie of fruits as well planted as naturall, as corne, greene and ripe, fish, fowle, and wilde beasts exceeding fat.

The greatest labour they take, is in planting their corne, for the Country naturally is overgrowne with wood. To prepare the ground they bruise the barke of the trees neare the root, then doe they scortch the roots with fire that they grow no more. The next yeare with a crooked peece of wood they beat vp the weeds by the rootes, and in that mould they plant their Corne. Their manner is this. They make a hole in the earth with a sticke, and into it they put foure graines of wheate and two of beanes. These holes they make foure foote one from another; Their women and children do continually keepe it with weeding, and when it is growne middle high, they hill it about like a hop-yard.

In Aprill they begin to plant, but their chiefe plantation is in May, and so they continue till the midst of Iune. What they plant in Aprill they reape in August; for May in September, for Iune in October; Every stalke of their corne commonly beareth two eares, some three, seldome any foure, many but one, and some none. Every eare ordinarily hath betwixt 200 and 500 graines. The stalke being greene hath a sweet iuice in it, somewhat like a sugar Cane, which is the cause that when they gather their corne greene, they sucke the stalkes: for as we gather greene pease, so doe they their corne being greene, which excelleth their old. They plant also pease they call *Assentamens*, which are the same they call in *Italy*, *Fagioli*. Their Beanes are the same the Turkes call *Garnanses*, but these they much esteeme for dainties.

Their corne they rost in the eare greene, and bruising it in morter of wood with a Polt, lap it in rowles in the leaues of their corne, and so boyle it for a daintie. They also reserue that corne late planted that will not ripe, by roasting it in hot ashes, the heat thereof drying it. In winter they esteeme it being boyled with beanes for a rare dish, they call *Pausarowmena.* Their old wheat they first steepe a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a morter. They vse a small basket for their Temmes, then pound againe the great, and so separating by dashing their hand in the basket, receiue the flower in a platter made of wood, scraped to that forme with burning and shels. Tempering this flower with water, they make it either in cakes, covering them with ashes till they be baked, and then washing them in faire water, they drie presently with their owne heat: or else boyle them in water, eating the broth with the bread which they call *Ponap.* The groutes and peeces of the cornes remaining, by fanning in a Platter or in the wind, away, the branne they boyle 3 or 4 houres with water, which is an ordinary food they call *Vstatahamen.* But some more thriftie then cleanly, doe burne the core of the eare to powder, which they call *Pungnough,* mingling that in their meale, but it never tasted well in bread, nor broth. Their fish and flesh they boyle either very tenderly, or boyle it so long on hurdles over the fire, or else after the *Spanish* fashion, putting it on a spit, they turne first the one side, then the other, till it be as drie as their ierkin Beefe in the west *Indies,* that they may keepe it a moneth or more without putrifying. The broth of fish or flesh they eat as commonly as the meat.

In May also amongst their corne they plant *Pumpeons,* and a fruit like vnto a muske mellon, but lesse and worse, which they call *Macocks.* These increase exceedingly, and ripen in the beginning of July, and continue vntill September.—They plant also *Maracocks* a wild fruit like a Lemmon, which also increase infinitely. They begin to ripe in September, and continue till the end of October. When all their fruits be gathered, little els they plant, and this is done by their women and children; neither doth this long suffice them, for neare three parts of the yeare, they onely obserue times and seasons, and liue of what the Country naturally affordeth from hand to mouth, &c.

The Commodities in Virginia, or that may be had by Industrie.

The mildnesse of the ayre, the fertilitie of the soyle, and situation of the rivers are so propitious to the nature and vse of man, as no place is more convenient for pleasure, profit, and mans sustenance, vnder that latitude or climat. Here will liue any beasts, as horses, goats, sheepe, asses, hens, &c. as appeared by them that were carried thether. The waters, Isles, and shoales, are full of safe harbours for ships of warre or marchandize, for boats of all sorts, for transportation or fishing, &c. The Bay and riuers have much marchantable fish, and places fit for Salt coats, building of ships, making of Iron, &c.

Muscovia and *Polonia* doe yearely receiue many thousands, for pitch, tarre, sope-ashes, Rosen, Flax, Cordage, Sturgeon, Masts, Yards, Wainscot, Firres, Glasse, and such like; also *Swethland* for Iron and Copper. *France* in like manner, for Wine, Canvas, and Salt. *Spaine* asmuch for Iron, Steele, Figges, Reasons, and Sackes. *Italy* with Silkes and Velvets consumes our chiefe Commodities. *Holland* maintaines it selfe by fishing and trading at our owne doores. All these temporize with other for necessities, but all as vncertaine as peace or warres. Besides the charge, travell, and danger in transporting them, by seas, lands, stormes, and Pyrats. Then how much hath *Virginia* the prerogatiue of all those flourishing Kingdomes, for the benefit of our Land, when as within one hundred myles all those are to be had, either ready provided by nature, or else to be prepared, were there but industrious men to labour. Onely of Copper we may doubt is wanting, but there is good probabilitie that both Copper and better Minerals are there to be had for their labour. Other Countries haue it. So then here is a place, a nurse for souldiers, a practise for mariners, a trade for marchants, a reward for the good, and that which is most of all, a businesse (most acceptable to God) to bring such poore Infidels to the knowledge of God and his holy Gospell.

Of the naturall Inhabitants of Virginia.

The land is not populous, for the men be few; their far greater number is of women and children. Within 60 myles of *Iames* Towne, there are about some 5000 people, but of able men fit for their warres scarce 1500. To nourish so many together they haue yet no meanes, because they make so small a benefit of their land, be it never so fertile. Six or seauen hundred haue beene the most hath beene seene together, when they gathered themselues to *haue surprised* me at *Pamavnkee*, having but fifteene to withstand the worst of their fury. As small as the proportion of ground that hath yet beene discovered, is in comparison of that yet vnknowne: the people differ very much in stature, especially in language, as before is expressed. Some being very great as the *Sasquesahanocks;* others very little, as the *Wighcocomocoes:* but generally tall and straight, of a comely proportion, and of a colour browne when they are of any age, but they are borne white. Their hayre is generally blacke, but few haue any beards. The men weare halfe their beards shaven, the other halfe long; for Barbers they vse their women, who with two shels will grate away the hayre, of any fashion they please. The women are cut in many fashions, agreeable to their yeares, but ever some part remaineth long. They are very strong, of an able body and full of agilitie, able to endure to lie in the woods vnder a tree by the fire, in the worst of winter, or in the weedes and grasse, in Ambuscado in the Sommer. They are inconstant in every thing, but what feare constraineth them to keepe. Craftie, timerous, quicke of apprehension, and very ingenuous. Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all Savage. Generally covetous of Copper, Beads, and such like trash. They are soone moued to anger, and so malicious, that they seldome forget an iniury: they seldome steale one from another, lest their coniurers should reveale it, and so they be pursued and punished. That they are thus feared is certaine, but that any can reueale their offences by coniuration I am doubtfull. Their women are carefull not to be suspected of dishonestie without the leaue of their husbands. Each household knoweth their owne lands, and gardens, and most liue of their owne labours. For their apparell, they are sometimes covered with the skinnes of wilde beasts, which in Winter are dressed

with the hayre, but in Sommer without. The better sort vse large mantels of Deare skins, not much differing in fashion from the Irish mantels. Some imbrodered with white beads, some with Copper, other painted after their manner. But the common sort haue scarce to cover their nakednesse, but with grasse, the leaues of trees, or such like. We haue seene some vse mantels made of Turky feathers, so prettily wrought and woven with threads that nothing could be discerned but the feathers. That was exceeding warme and very handsome. But the women are alwayes covered about their middles with a skin, and very shamefast to be seene bare. They adorne themselues most with copper beads and paintings. Their women, some haue their legs, hands, breasts and face cunningly imbrodered with divers workes, as beasts, serpents, artificially wrought into their flesh with blacke spots. In each eare commonly they haue 3 great holes, whereat they hang chaines, bracelets, or copper. Some of their men weare in those holes, a small greene and yellow coloured snake, neare halfe a yard in length, which crawling and lapping her selfe about his necke oftentimes familiarly would kisse his lips. Others weare a dead Rat tyed by the taile. Some on their heads weare the wing of a bird, or some large feather with a Rattell. Those Rattels are somewhat like the chape of a Rapier, but lesse, which they take from the taile of a snake. Many haue the whole skinne of a Hawke or some strange foule, stuffed with the wings abroad. Others a broad peece of Copper, and some the hand of their enemy dryed. Their heads and shoulders are painted red with the roote *Pocone* brayed to powder, mixed with oyle, this they hold in sommer to preserue them from the heate, and in winter from the cold. Many other formes of paintings they vse, but he is the most gallant that is the most monstrous to behold.

Their buildings and habitations are for the most part by the rivers, or not farre distant from some fresh spring. Their houses are built like our Arbors, of small young springs bowed and tyed, and so close covered with Mats, or the barkes of trees very handsomely, that notwithstanding either winde, raine, or weather, they are as warme as stooues, but very smoaky, yet at the toppe of the house there is a hole made for the smoake to goe into right over the fire.

Against the fire they lie on little hurdles of Reeds covered with a Mat, borne from the ground a foote and more by a hurdle of wood. On these round about the house they lie heads and points one by th' other against the fire, some covered with Mats, some with skins, and some starke naked lie on the ground, from 6 to 20 in a house. Their houses are in the midst of their fields or gardens, which are small plots of ground. Some 20 acres, some 40. some 100. some 200. some more, some lesse. In some places from 2 to 50 of those houses together, or but alittle separated by groues of trees. Neare their habitations is little small wood or old trees on the ground by reason of their burning of them for fire.—So that a man may gallop a horse amongst these woods any way, but where the creekes or Rivers shall hinder.

Men, women, and children haue their severall names according to the severall humor of their Parents. Their women (they say) are easily delivered of childe, yet doe they loue children very dearely. To make them hardie, in the coldest mornings they them wash in the rivers, and by painting and oyntments so tanne their skinnes, that after a yeare or two, no weather will hurt them.

The men bestow their times in fishing, hunting, warres, and such man-like exercises, scorning to be seene in any woman-like exercise, which is the cause that the women be very painefull, and the men often idle. The women and children doe the rest of the worke. They make mats, baskets, pots, morters, pound their corne, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, gather their corne, beare all kind of burdens, and such like.

Their fire they kindle presently by chafing a dry pointed sticke in a hole of a little square peece of wood, that firing it selfe, will so fire the mosse, leaues, or any such like dry thing, that will quickly burne. In March and Aprill they liue much vpon their fishing wires; and feed on fish, Turkies, and Squirrels. In May and Iune they plant their fields, and liue most of Acornes, Walnuts, and fish. But to amend their dyet, some disperse themselues in small companies, and liue vpon fish, beasts, crabs, oysters, land Tortoises, strawberries, mulberries, and such like. In Iune, Iuly, and August, they feed vpon the rootes of *Tocknough* berries, fish, and greene wheat. It is strange to see how their bodies alter with their dyet, even as the deere

and wilde beasts they seeme fat and leane, strong and weake. *Powhatan* their great King, and some others that are provident, rost their fish and flesh vpon hurdles as before is expressed, and keepe it till scarce times.

For fishing, hunting, and warres they vse much their bow and arrowes. Their arrowes are made some of straight young sprigs, which they head with bone, some 2 or 3 ynches long. These they vse to shoot at Squirrels on trees. Another sort of arrowes they vse made of Reeds. These are peeced with wood, headed with splinters of christall, or some sharpe stone, the spurres of a Turkey, or the bill of some bird. For his knife he hath the splinter of a Reed to cut his feathers in forme. With this knife also, he will ioynt a Deere, or any beast, shape his shooes, buskins, mantels, &c. To make the notch of his arrow he hath the tooth of a Beaver, set in a sticke, wherewith he grateth it by degrees. His arrow head he quickly maketh with a little bone, which he ever weareth at his bracert, of any splint of a stone, or glasse in the forme of a heart, and these they glew to the end of their arrowes. With the sinewes of Deere, and the tops of Deeres hornes boyled to a jelly, they make a glew that will not dissolue in cold water.

For nheir warres also they vse Targets that are round and made of the barkes of trees, and a sword of wood at their backes, but oftentimes they vse for swords the horne of a Deere put through a peece of wood in forme of a Pickaxe. Some a long stone sharpned at both ends, vsed in the same manner. This they were wont to vse also for hatchets, but now by trucking they haue plentie of the same forme of yron. And those are thein chiefe instruments and armes.

Their fishing is much in Boats. These they make of one tree by burning and scratching away the coales with stones and shels, till they haue made it in forme of a Trough.—Some of them are an elne deepe, and fortie or fiftie foote in length, and some will beare 40 men, but the most ordinary are smaller, and will beare 10, 20, or 30. according to their bignesse. Instead of Oares, they vse Paddles and stickes, with which they will row faster then our Barges. Betwixt their hands and thighes, their women vse to spin, the barkes of trees, Deere sinewes, or a kinde of grasse they call *Pemmenaw*, of these they make a thread very even and readily. This thread serveth for many vses. As about their housing,

apparell, as also they make nets for fishing, for the quantitie as formally braded as ours. They make also with it lines for angles. Their hookes are either a bone grated as they noch their arrowes in the forme of a crooked pinne or fishhooke, or of the splinter of a bone tyed to the clift of a little sticke, and with the end of the line, they tie on the bate.—They vse also long arrowes tyed in a line, wherewith they shoote at fish in the rivers. But they of *Accawmacke* vse staues like vnto Iauelins headed with bone. With these they dart fish swimming in the water. They haue also many artificiall wires, in which they get abundance of fish.

In their hunting and fishing they take extreame paines; yet it being their ordinary exercise from their infancy, they esteeme it a pleasure and are very proud to be expert therein. And by their continuall ranging, and travell, they know all the advantages and places most frequented with Deere, Beasts, Fish, Foule, Roots, and Berries. At their huntings they leaue their habitations, and reduce themselues into companies as the *Tartars* doe, and goe to the most desert places with their families, where they spend their time in hunting and fowling vp towards the mountaines, by the heads of their rivers, where there is plentie of game. For betwixt the rivers the grounds are so narrow, that little commeth here which they devoure not. It is a marvell they can so directly passe these deserts, some 3 or 4 dayes iourney without habitation. Their hunting houses are like vnto Arbours covered with Mats. These their women beare after them, with Corne, Acornes, Morters, and all bag and baggage they vse. When they come to the place of exercise, every man doth his best to shew his dexteritie, for by their excelling in those qualities, they get their wiues. Fortie yards will they shoot levell, or very neare the marke, and 120 is their best at Random. At their huntings in the deserts they are commonly two or three hundred together. Having found the Deere, they environ them with many fires, and betwixt the fires they place themselues. And some take their stands in the midsts. The Deere being thus feared by the fires, and their voyces, they chase them so long within that circle. that many times they kill 6, 8, 10, or 15 at a hunting. They vse also to driue them into some narrow poynt of land, when they find that advantage; and so force them into the river, where with their boats they haue *Ambuscadoes* to kill them. When they haue shot a Deere by

land, they follow him like bloud-hounds by the bloud, and straine, and oftentimes so take them. Hares, Patridges, Turkies, or Egges, fat or leane, young or old, they devoure all they can catch in their power. In one of these huntings they found me in the discovery of the head of the river of *Chickahamania*, where they slew my men, and tooke me prisoner in a Bogmire, where I saw those exercises, and gathered these Observations.

One Salvage hunting alone, vseth the skinne of a Deere slit on the one side, and so put on his arme, through the neck, so that his hand comes to the head which is stuffed, and the hornes, head, eyes, eares, and every part as artificially counterfeited as they can devise. Thus shrowding his body in the skinne by stalking, he approacheth the Deere, creeping on the ground from one tree to another. If the Deere chance to find fault, or stand at gaze, he turneth the head with his hand to his best advantage to seeme like a Deere, also gazing and licking himselfe. So watching his best advantage to approach, having shot him, he chaseth him by his bloud and straine till he get him.

When they intend any warres, the *Werowances* vsually haue the advice of their their Priests and Coniurers, and their allies, and ancient friends, but chiefely the Priests determine their resolution. Every *Werowance*, or some lustie fellow, they appoint Captaine over every nation. They seldome make warre for lands or goods, but for women and children, and principally for revenge. They haue many enemies, namely, all their westernly Countries beyond the mountaines, and the heads of the rivers. Vpon the head of the *Powhatans* are the *Monacans*, whose chiefe habitation is at *Rasauweak*; vnto whom the *Mowhemenchughes*, the *Massinnacacks*, the *Monahassanughs*, the *Monasickapanoughs*, and other nations pay tributes. Vpon the head of the river of *Toppahanock* is a people called *Mannahoacks*. To these are contributers the *Tauxanias*, the *Shackaconias*, the *Ontponeas*, the *Tegninateos*, the *Whonkenteaes*, the *Stegarakes*, the *Hassinungaes*, and divers others, all confederates with the *Monacans*, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, liuing for the most part of the wild beasts and fruits. Beyond the mountaines from whence is the head of the river *Patawomeke*, the Salvages report inhabit their most mortall enemies, the *Massawomekes*, vpon a great salt water, which by all

likelihood is either some part of *Cannada*: some great lake, or some inlet of some sea that falleth into the South sea.—These *Massawomekes* are a great nation and very populous. For the heades of all those rivers, especially the *Pattawomekes*, the *Pautuxuntes*, the *Susquesahanocks*, the *Tockwoughes* are continally tormented by them: of whose crueltie, they generally complained, and very importunate they were with me, and my company to free them from those tormentors. To this purpose they offered food, conduct, assistance, and continuall subiection. Which I concluded to effect.—But the councell then present emulating my successe, would not thinke it fit to spare me fortie men to be hazzarded in those vnknowne regions, having passed (as before was spoken of) but with 12, and so was lost that opportunitie. Seaven boats full of these *Massawomekes* wee encountred at the head of the *Bay*; whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobaccopipes, Platters, Bowes, and every thing shewed, they much exceeded them of our parts, and their dexteritie in their small boats, made of the barkes of trees, sowed with barke and well luted with gumme, argueth that they are seated vpon some great water.

Against all these enemies the *Powhatans* are constrained sometimes to fight. Their chiefe attempts are by Stratagems, trecheries, or surprisals. Yet the *Werowances* women and children they put not to death, but keepe them Captiues. They haue a method in warre, and for our pleasures they shewed it vs, and it was in this manner performed at *Mattapanient*.

Hauing painted and disguised themselues in the fiercest manner they could devise, They divided themselues into two Companies, neare an hundred in a company. The one company called *Monacans*, the other *Powhatans*. Either army had their Captaine. These as enemies tooke their stands a musket shot one from another; ranked themselues 15 a breast, and each ranke from another 4 or 5 yards, not in fyle, but in the opening betwixt their fyles. So the Reare could shoot as conveniently as the Front. Having thus pitched the fields, from either part went a messenger with these conditions, that whosoever were vanquished, such as escape vpon their submission in two dayes after should liue, but their wiues and children should be prize for the Conquerours. The messengers were no sooner returned, but

they approached in their orders; On each flanke a Serieant, and in the Reare an Officer for Lieutenant, all duly keeping their orders, yet leaping and singing after their accustomed tune, which they onely vse in Warres. Vpon the first flight of arrowes they gaue such horrible shouts and schreeches, as so many infernall hell-hounds could not haue made them more terrible. When they had spent their arrowes, they ioyned together prettily, charging and retyring, every ranke seconding other. As they got advantage they catched their enemies by the hayre of the head, and downe he came that was taken. His enemy with his wooden sword seemed to beat out his braines, and still they crept to the Reare, to maintaine the skirmish. The *Monacans* decreasing, the *Powhatans* charged them in the forme of a halfe Moone; they vnwilling to be inclosed, fled all in a troope to their *Ambuscadoes*, on whom they led them very cunningly. The *Monacans* disperse themselues among the fresh men, wherevpon the *Powhatans* retired, with all speed to their seconds; which the *Munacans* seeing, tooke that advantage to retire againe to their owne battell, and so each returned to their owne quarter. All their actions, voyces, and gestures, both in charging and retiring were so strained to the height of their qualitie and nature, that the strangenesse thereof made it seeme very delightfull.

For their Musicke they vse a thicke Cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder. For their warres they haue a great deepe platter of wood. They cover the mouth thereof with a skin, at each corner they tie a walnut, which meeting on the backside neere the bottome, with a small rope they twitch them together till it be so taught and stiffe, that they may beat vpon it as vpon a drumme. But their chiefe instruments are Rattles made of small gourds, or Pumpeons shels. Of these they haue Base, Tenor, Countertenor, Meane, and Treble. These mingled with their voyces sometimes twenty or thirtie together, make such a terrible noise as would rather affright, then delight any man. If any great commander arrive at the habitation of a *Werowance*, they spread a Mat as the Turkes doe a Carpet for him to sit vpon. Vpon another right opposite they sit themselues. Then doe all with a tunable voice of shouting bid him welcome. After this doe two or more of their chiefest men make an Oration, testifying their loue. Which they doe with such vehemency, and so

great passions, that they sweat till they drop, and are so out of breath they can scarce speake. So that a man would take them to be exceeding angry, or stark mad. Such victuall as they haue, they spend freely, and at night where his lodging is appointed, they set a woman fresh painted red with *Pocenes* and oyle to be his bed-fellow.

Their manner of trading is for copper, beads, and such like, for which they giue such commodities as they haue, as skins, foule, fish, flesh, and their Country Corne. But their victualls are their chiefest riches.

Every spring they make themselues sicke with drinking the iuyce of a roote they call *Wighsacan*, and water; whereof they powre so great a quantitie, that it purgeth them in a very violent manner; so that in three or foure dayes after, they scarce recover their former health. Sometimes they are troubled with dropsies, swellings, aches, and such like diseases; for cure whereof they build a Stone in the forme of a Doue-house with mats, so close that a few coales therein covered with a pot, will make the patient sweat extreamely. For swellings also they vse small peeces of touchwood, in the forme of cloues, which pricking on the griefe they burne close to the flesh, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth. With this roote *Wighsacan* they ordinarily heale the greene wounds. But to scarrifie a swelling, or make incision, their best instruments are some splinted stone. Old vlcers, or putrified hurts are seldome seene cured amongst them. They haue many professed Phisicians, who with their charmes and Rattles, with an infernal rout of words and actions, will seeme to sucke their inward griefe from their navels, or their grieved places: but of our Chirurgians they were so conceited, that they beleeued any Plaister would heale any hurt.

But 'tis not alwayes in Phisicians skill,
To heale the Patient that is sicke and ill:
For sometimes sicknesse on the Patients part,
Proves stronger farre then all Phisicians art.

Of their Religion.

There is yet in *Virginia* no place dicovered to be so Savage, in which they haue not a Religion. Deere, and Bow, and Arrowes. All things that are able to doe them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kinde of divine worship; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our Ordnance, peeces, horses, &c. But their chiefe God they worship is the Devill. Him they call *Okee*, and serue him more of feare then loue. They say they haue conference with him, and fashion themselues as neare to his shape as they can imagine. In their Temples they haue his image euill favouredly carved, and then painted and adorned with chaines of copper, and beads, and covered with a skin, in such manner as the deformitie may well suit with such a God. By him is commonly the sepulcher of their Kings. Their bodies are first bowelled, then dried vpon hurdles till they be very dry, and so about the most of their ioynts and necke they hang bracelets, or chaines of copper, pearle, and such like, as they vse to weare, their inwards they stuffe with copper beads, hatchets; and such trash. Then lappe they them very carefully in white skins, and so rowle them in mats for their winding sheets. And in the Tombe which is an arch made of mats, they lay them orderly. What remaineth of this kinde of wealth their Kings haue, they set at their feet in baskets. These Temples and bodies are kept by their Priests.

For their ordinary burials, they dig a deepe hole in the earth with sharpe stakes, and the corpse being lapped in skins, they lay them vpon stickes in the ground, and so cover them with earth. The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with blacke cole and oyle, doe sit twenty-foure houres in the houses mourning and lamenting by turnes, with such yelling and howling, as may expresse their great passions.

In every Territory of a *Werowance* is a Temple and a Priest; two or three or more. Their principall Temple or place of superstition is at *Vttamussack*, at *Pamavnkee*, neare vnto which is a house, Temple, or place of *Powhatans*.

Vpon the top of certaine red sandy hils in the woods, there are three great houses filled with images of their Kings, and Devils, and Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neare sixtie foot in length built arbour-wise, after their

building. This place they count so holy as that but the Priests and Kings dare come into them; nor the Salvages dare not goe vp the river in boats by it, but they solemnly cast some peece of copper, white beads, or *Pocones* into the river, for feare their *Okee* should be offended and revenged of them.

Thus, Feare was the first their Gods begot:
Till feare began, their Gods were not.

In this place commonly are resident seauen Priests. The chiefe differed from the rest in his ornaments, but inferior Priests could hardly be knowne from the common people, but that they had not so many holes in their eares to hang their iewels at. The ornaments of the chiefe Priest were certaine attires for his head made thus. They tooke a dosen, or 16, or more snakes skins and stuffed them with mosse, and of Weesels and other Vermines skins a good many. All these they tie by their tailes, so as all their tailes meete in the top of their head like a great Tassell. Round about this Tassell is as it were a crowne of feathers, the skins hang round about his head, necke, and shoulders, and in a manner cover his face. The faces of all their Priests are painted as vgly as they can devise, in their hands they had every one his Rattle, some base, some smaller. Their devotion was most in songs, which the chiefe Priest beginneth and the rest followed him, sometimes he maketh invocations with broken sentences by starts and strange passions, and at every pause, the rest giue a short groane.

Thus seeke they in deepe foolishnesse,
To climbe the height of happinesse.

It could not be perceiued that they keepe any day as more holy then other: But onely in some great distresse of want, feare of enemies, times of triumph and gathering together their fruits, the whole Country of men, women, and children come together to solemnities. The manner of their devotion is, sometimes to make a great fire, in the house or fields, and all to sing and dance about it with Rattels and shouts together, foure or fiue houres. Sometimes they set a man in the midst, and about him they dance and sing, he all the while clapping his hands, as if he would keepe time, and after their songs and dancings ended they goe to their Feasts.

Through God begetting feare,
Mans blinded minde did reare
A hell-god to the ghosts:
A heaven god to the hoasts;
Yea God vnto the Seas:
Feare did create all these.

They haue also divers coniurations, one they made when I was their prisoner; of which hereafter you shall reade at large.

They haue also certaine Altar stones they call *Pawcorances*, but these stand from their Temples, some by their houses, others in the woods and wildernesses, where they haue had any extraordinary accident, or incounter. And as you travell, at those stones they will tell you the cause why they were there erected, which from age to age they instruct their children, as their best records of antiquities. Vpon these they offer bloud, Deere suet, and Tobacco. This they doe when they returne from the Warres, from hunting, and vpon many other occasions. They haue also another superstition that they vse in stormes, when the waters are rough in the Rivers and Sea coasts. Their Coniurers runne to the water sides, or passing in their boats, after many hellish outcryes and invocations, they cast Tobacco, Copper, *Pocones*, or such trash into the water, to pacifie that God whom they thinke to be very angry in those stormes. Before their dinners and suppers the better sort will take the first bit, and cast it in the fire, which is all the grace they are knowne to vse.

In some part of the Country they haue yearely a sacrifice of children. Such a one was at *Quiyoughcohanock* some ten myles from *Iames* Towne, and thus performed. Fifteene of the properest young boyes, betweene ten and fifteene yeares of age they painted white. Having brought them forth, the people spent the forenoon in dancing and singing about them with Rattles. In the afternoone they put those children to the roote of a tree. By them all the men stood in a guard, every one having a Bastinado in his hand, made of reeds bound together. This made a lane betweene them all along, through which there were appointed fiue young men to fetch these children: so every one of the fiue went through the guard to fetch a childe each after other by turnes, the guard fiercely beating them with their Bastinadoes, and they patiently enduring and receiuing all, defending the children with their naked bodies from the vnmercifull blowes, that pay them

soundly, though the children escape. All this while the women weepe and cry out very passionately, prouiding mats, skins, mosse, and dry wood, as things fitting their childrens funerals. After the children were thus passed the guard, the guard tore down the trees. branches and boughs, with such violence that they rent the body, and made wreaths for their heads, or bedecked their hayre with the leaues. What els was done with the children, was not seene, but they were all cast on a heape, in a valley as dead, where they made a great feast for all the company. The *Werowance* being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered that the children were not all dead, but that the *Okee* or *Divell* did sucke the bloud from their left breast, who chanced to be his by lot, till they were dead, but the rest were kept in the wildernesse by the young men till nine moneths were expired, during which time they must not converse with any, and of these were made their Priests and Coniurers. This sacrifice they held to be so necessary, that if they should omit it, their *Okee* or *Devill*, and all their other *Quiyoughcosughes*, which are their other Gods, would let them haue no Deere, Turkies, Corne, nor fish, and yet besides, he would make a great slaughter amongst them.

They thinke that their *Werowances* and Priests which they also esteeme *Quiyoughcosughes*, when they are dead, doe goe beyond the mountaines towards the setting of the sunne, and ever remaine there in forme of their *Okee*, with their heads painted with oyle and *Pocones*, finely trimmed with feathers, and shall haue beads, hatchets, copper, and Tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing, with all their Predecessors. But the common people they suppose shall not liue after death, but rot in their graues like dead dogs.

To divert them from this blind Idolatry, we did our best endevours, chiefly with the *Werowance* of *Quiyoughcohanock*, whose devotion, apprehension, and good disposition, much exceeded any in those Countries, with whom although we could not as yet prevaile, to forsake his false Gods, yet this he did beleeue that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes did their Bowes and Arrowes, and many times did send to me to *Iames* Towne, intreating me to pray to my God for raine, for their Gods would not send them any. And in this lamentable ignorance doe these poore soules sacrifice themselues to the Devill. not knowing their Creator; and we

had not language sufficient, so plainly to expresse it as make them vnderstand it; which God grant they may.

For, Religion 'tis that doth distinguish vs,
From their bruit humor, well we may it know;
That can with vnderstanding argue thus,
Our God is truth, but they cannot doe so.

Of the manner of the Virginians *Government.*

Although the Country people be very barbarous, yet haue they amongst them such government, as that their Magistrates for good commanding, and their people for due subiection, and obeying, excell many places that would be counted very civill. The forme of their Common-wealth is a Monarchicall government, one as Emperour ruleth ouer many Kings or Governours. Their chiefe ruler is called *Powhatan*, and taketh his name of his principall place of dwelling called *Powhatan*. But his proper name is *Wahunsonacock*. Some Countries he hath which haue beene his ancestors, and came vnto him by inheritance, as the Country called *Powhatan. Arrohateck*, *Appamatuck*, *Pamavnkee*, *Youghtanund*, and *Mattapanient*. All the rest of his Territories expressed in the Mappe, they report haue beene his severall Conquests. In all his ancient inheritances, he hath houses built after their manner like arbours, some 30. some 40. yards long, and at every house provision for his entertainement according to the time. At *Werowcomoco* on the Northside of the river *Pamavnkee*, was his residence, when I was delivered him prisoner, some 14 myles from *James* Towne, where for the most part, he was resident, but at last he tooke so little pleasure in our neare neighbourhood, that he retired himselfe to *Orapakes*, in the desert betwixt *Chickahamania* and *Youghtanund*. He is of personage a tall well proportioned man, with a sower looke, his head somwhat gray, his beard so thinne, that it seemeth none at all, his age neare sixtie; of a very able and hardy body to endure any labour. About his person ordinarily attendeth a guard of 40 or 50 of the tallest men his Country doth afford. Every night vpon the foure quarters of his house are foure Sentinels, each from other a slight shoot, and at every halfe houre one from the *Corps du guard* doth hollow, shaking

his lips with his finger betweene them; vnto whom every Sentinell doth answer round from his stand: if any faile, they presently send forth an officer that beateth him extreamely.

A myle from *Orapakes* in a thicket of wood, he hath a house in which he keepeth his kinde of Treasure, as skinnes, copper, pearle, and beads, which he storeth vp against the time of his death and buriall. Here also is his store of red paint for oyntment, bowes and arrowes, Targets and clubs. This house is fiftie or sixtie yards in length, frequented onely by Priests. At the foure corners of this house stand foure Images as Sentinels, one of a Dragon, another a Beare, the third like a Leopard, and the fourth like a giantlike man, all made evill favouredly, according to their best workemanship.

He hath as many women as he will, whereof when he lieth on his bed, one sitteth at his head, and another at his feet, but when he sitteth, one sitteth on his right hand and another on his left. As he is weary of his women, he bestoweth them on those that best deserue them at his hands. When he dineth or suppeth, one of his women before and after meat, bringeth him water in a wooden platter to wash his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of feathers to wipe them in stead of a Towell, and the feathers when he hath wiped are dryed againe. His kingdomes descend not to his sonnes nor his children, but first to his brethren, whereof he hath 3. namely, *Opitchapan*, *Opechancanough*, and *Catataugh*, and after their decease to his sisters. First to the eldest sister, then to the rest, and after them to the heires male or female of the eldest sister, but never to the heires of the males.

He nor any of his people vnderstand any letters, whereby to write or reade, onely the lawes whereby he ruleth is custome. Yet when he listeth his will is a law and must be obeyed: not onely as a King, but as halfe a God they esteeme him. His inferior Kings whom they call *Werowances*, are tyed to rule by customes, and haue power of life and death at their command in that nature. But this word *Werowance*, which we call and construe for a King, is a common word, whereby they call all commanders: for they haue but few words in their language, and but few occasions to vse any officers more then one commander, which commonly they call *Werowance*, or *Caucorouse*, which is Captaine. They all know their severall lands, and habitations, and limits, to

fish, foule, or hunt in, but they hold all of their great *Werowance Powhatan*, vnto whom they pay tribute of skinnes, beads, copper, pearle, deere, turkies, wild beasts, and corne. What he commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great feare and adoration, all these people doe obey this *Powhatan.* For at his feete they present whatsoever he commandeth, and at the least frowne of his brow, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare: and no marvell, for he is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offend him. For example, he caused certaine malefactors to be bound hand and foot, then having of many fires gathered great store of burning coales, they rake these coales round in the forme of a cockpit, and in the midst they cast the offenders to broyle to death. Sometimes he causeth the heads of them that offend him, to be laid vpon the altar or sacrificing stone, and one with clubbes beats out their braines. When he would punish any notorious enemy or malefactor, he causeth him to be tyed to a tree, and with Mussell shels or reeds, the executioner cutteth off his ioynts one after another, ever casting what they cut off into the fire; then doth he proceed with shels and reeds to case the skinne from his head and face; then doe they rip his belly and so burne him with the tree and all. Thus themselues reported they executed *George Cassen.* Their ordinary correction is to beat them with cudgels. We haue seene a man kneeling on his knees, and at *Powhatans* command, two men haue beate him on the bare skin, till he hath fallen senselesse in a sound, and yet never cry nor complained. And he made a woman for playing the whore, sit vpon a great stone, on her bare breech twenty-foure houres, onely with corne and water every three dayes, till nine dayes were past, yet he loued her exceedingly: notwithstanding there are common whores by profession.

In the yeare 1608, he surprised the people of *Payankatank* his neare neighbours and subiects. The occasion was to vs vnknowne, but the manner was thus. First he sent divers of his men as to lodge amongst them that night, then the *Ambuscadoes* environed all their houses, and at the houre appointed, they all fell to the spoyle, twenty-foure men they slew, the long haire of the one side of their heads, with the skinne cased off with shels or reeds, they brought away. They surprised also the women, and the children, and the *Werowance*

All these they presented to *Powhatan.* The *Werowance,* women and children became his prisoners, and doe him service. The lockes of haire with their skinnes he hanged on a line betwixt two trees. And thus he made ostentation of his triumph at *Werowocomoco,* where he intended to haue done as much to mee and my company.

And this is as much as my memory can call to minde worthy of note; which I haue purposely collected, to satisfie my friends of the true worth and qualitie of *Virginia.* Yet some bad natures will not sticke to slander the Countrey, that will slovenly spit at all things, especially in company where they can finde none to contradict them. Who though they were scarce euer ten myles from *Iames* Towne, or at the most but at the falles; yet holding it a great disgrace that amongst so much action, their actions were nothing, exclaime of all things, though they never adventured to know any thing; nor euer did any thing but devoure the fruits of other mens labours. Being for most part of such tender educations, and small experience in Martiall accidents, because they found not English Cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wishes any of their accustomed dainties, with feather beds and downe pillowes, Tavernes and Alehouses in every breathing place, neither such plentie of gold and silver and dissolute libertie, as they expected, had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their meanes to returne for *England.* For the Country was to them a misery, a ruine, a death, a hell, and their reports here, and their actions there according.

Some other there were that had yearely stipends to passe to and againe for transportation: who to keepe the mysterie of the businesse in themselues, though they had neither time nor meanes to know much of themselues; yet all mens actions or relations they so formally tuned to the temporizing times simplicitie, as they could make their ignorances seeme much more, then all the true actors could by their experience. And those with their great words deluded the world with such strange promises, as abused the businesse much worse then the rest. For the businesse being builded vpon the foundation of their fained experience, the planters, the money and meanes haue still miscarried: yet they ever returning, and the planters so farre absent, who could contradict their excuses? which, still to maintaine their vaine glory

and estimation, from time to time haue vsed such diligence as made them passe for truths, though nothing more false. And that the adventurers might be thus abused, let no man wonder: for the wisest liuing is soonest abused by him that hath a faire tongue and a dissembling heart.

There were many in *Virginia* meerely proiecting, verball, and idle contemplators, and those so devoted to pure idlenesse, that though they had liued two or three yeares in *Virginia*, lordly, necessitie it selfe could not compell them to passe the *Peninsula*, or *Pallisadoes* of *James* Towne, and those witty spirits, what would they not affirme in the behalfe of our transporters, to get victuall from their ships or obtaine their good words in *England*, to get their passes. Thus from the clamors, and the ignorance of false informers, are sprung those disasters that sprung in *Virginia:* and our ingenious verbalists were no lesse plague to vs in *Virginia*, then the Locusts to the Egyptians. For the labour of twentie or thirtie of the best onely preserved in Christianitie by their industry, the idle livers of neare two hundred of the rest: who liuing neere ten moneths of such naturall meanes, as the Country naturally of it selfe afforded, notwithstanding all this, and the worst fury of the Salvages, the extrremitie of sicknesse, mutinies, faction, ignorances, and want of victuall; in all that time I lost but seaven or eight men, yet subiected the salvages to our desired obedience, and receiued contribution from thirtie fiue of their Kings, to protect and assist them against any that should assault them, in which order they continued true and faithfull, and as subiects to his Maiestie, so long after as I did governe there, vntill I left the Countrey: since, how they haue revolted, the Countrie lost, and againe replanted, and the businesses hath succeded from time to time, I referre you to the relations of them returned from *Virginia*, that haue beene more deligent in such Observations.

IOHN SMITH *writ this with his owne hand.*

Because many doe desire to know the manner of their Language, I haue inserted these few words.

Kakatorawines yowo. What call you this.
Nemarough, a man.
Crenepo, a woman.
Marowanchesso, a boy.
Yehawkans, Houses.
Matchcores, Skins, or garments.
Mockasins, Shooes.
Tussan, Beds. *Pokatawer*, Fire.
Attawp, A bow. *Attonce*, Arrowes.
Monacookes, Swords.
Aumoughhowgh, A Target.
Pawcussacks, Gunnes.
Tomahacks, Axes.
Tockahacks. Pickaxes.
Pamesacks, Kniues.
Accowprets, Sheares.
Pawpecones, Pipes.
Mattassin, Copper.
Vssawassin, Iron, Brasse, Silver, any white mettall.
Musses, Woods.
Attasskuss, Leaues, weeds, or grasse.
Chepsin, Land.
Shacquohocan, A stone.
Wepenter, A cookold.
Suckahanna, Water.
Noughmass, Fish.
Copotone Sturgeon.
Weghshaughes, Flesh.
Sawwehone, Bloud.
Netoppew, Friends.
Marrapough, Enemies.
Maskapow, the worst of the enemies.
Mawchick chammay, The best of friends.
Casacunnakack, peya quagh acquintan vttasantasough, In how many daies will there come hither any more English Ships.

Their Numbers.

Necut, 1. *Ningh*, 2. *Nuss*, 3. *Yowgh*, 4. *Paranske*, 5 *Comotinch*, 6. *Toppawoss*, 7. *Nusswash*, 8. *Kekatawgh*, 9. *Kaskeke*, 10.
They count no more but by tennes as followeth.
Case, how many.
Ninghsapooeksku, 20.
Nussapooeksku, 30.
Yowghapooeksku, 40.
Parankestassapooeksku, 50.
Comatinchtassapooeksku, 60
Nussswashtassapooeksku, 70.
Kekataughtassapooeksku, 90.
Necuttoughtysinough, 100.
Necuttweevnquaough, 1000.
Rawcosowghs, Dayes.
Keskowghes, Sunnes.
Toppquough, Nights.
Nepawweshowghs. Moones.
Pawpaxsoughes, Yeares.
Pummahumps, Starres.
Osies, Heavens.
Okees, Gods.
Quiyoughcosoughs. Pettie Gods, and their affinities.
Righcomoughes, Deaths.
Kekughes, Liues.
Mowchick woyawgh tawgh noeragh kaquere mecher, I

am very hungry? what shall I eate?

Tawnor nehiegh Powhatan, Where dwels Powhatan.

Mache, nehiegh yourowgh, Orapaks. Now he dwels a great way hence at Orapaks.

Vittapitchewayne anpechitchs nehawper Werowacomoco, You lie, he staid ever at Werowacomoco.

Kator nehiegh mattagh neer vttapitchewayne, Truely he is there I doe not lie.

Spaughtynere keragh werowance mawmarinough kekate wawgh peyaquaugh. Run you then to the King Mawmarynough and bid him come hither.

Vtteke, e peyaweyack wighwhip, Get you gone, and come againe quickly.

Kekaten Pokahontas Patiaquagh ningh tanks manotyens neer mowchick rawrenock audowgh, Bid Pokahontas bring hither two little Baskets, and I will giue her white Beads to make her a Chaine.

FINIS.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

THE
PROCEEDINGS
AND
ACCIDENTS
OF THE
ENGLISH COLONY IN VIRGINIA,

EXTRACTED FROM THE AUTHORS FOLLOWING,

By WILLIAM SIMONS,

DOCTOUR OF DIVINITIE.

CHAPTER I.

It might well be thought, a Countrie so faire (as *Virginia* is) and a people so tractable, would long ere this haue beene quietly possessed, to the satisfaction of the adventurers, and the eternizing of the memory of those that effected it. But because all the world doe see a defailement; this following Treatise shall giue satisfaction to all indifferent Readers, how the businesse hath bin carried: where no doubt they will easily vnderstand and answer to their question, how it came to passe there was no better speed and successe in those proceedings. Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnoll*, one of the first movers of this plantation, having many yeares solicited many of his friends, but found small assistants; at last prevailed with some Gentlemen, as Captaine *Iohn Smith*, Mr *Edward-maria Wingfield*, Mr *Robert Hunt*, and divers others, who depended a yeare vpon his proiects, but nothing could be effected, till by their great charge and industrie, it came to be apprehended by certaine of the Nobilitie, Gentry, and Marchants, so that his Maiestie by his letters patents, gaue commission for establishing Councels, to direct here; and to governe, and to

execute there. To effect this, was spent another yeare, and by that, three ships were provided, one of 100 Tuns, another of 40. and a Pinnace of 20. The transportation of the company was committed to Captaine *Christopher Newport*, a Marriner well practised for the Westerne parts of *America.* But their orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne vntill they arrived in *Virginia.*

On the 19 of December, 1606. we set sayle from Blackwall, but by vnprosperous winds were kept six weekes in the sight of *England;* all which time, Mr *Hunt* our Preacher, was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recovery.—Yet although he were but twentie myles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes) and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better then Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst vs) suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leaue the business, but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disasterous designes (could they haue prevailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse, so many discontents did then arise, had he not with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted examples) quenched those flames of envie, and dissention.

We watered at the Canaries, we traded with the Salvages at *Dominica:* three weekes we spent in refreshing our selues amongst these west-India Isles: in *Gwardalupa* we found a bath so hot, as in it we boyled Porck as well as over the fire. And at a little Isle called *Monica,* we tooke from the bushes with our hands, neare two hogsheads full of Birds in three or foure houres. In *Mevis, Mona,* and the Virgin Isles, we spent some time, where, with a lothsome beast like a Crocodil, called a Gwayn, Tortoises, Pellicans, Parrots, and fishes, we daily feasted. Gone from thence in search of *Virginia.* the company was not a little discomforted, seeing the Marriners had 3 dayes passed their reckoning and found no land, so that Captaine *Ratliffe* (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare vp the helme to returne for *England,* then make further search. But God the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extreame storme to hull all night, did driue them by his providence to their desired Port, beyond

all their expectations. for never any of them had seene that coast. The first land they made they called *Cape Henry*; where thirtie of them recreating themselues on shore, were assaulted by fiue Salvages, who hurt two of the English very dangerously. That night was the box opened. and the orders read, in which *Bartholomew Gosnoll, Iohn Smith, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, Iohn Ratliffe, Iohn Martin*, and *George Kendall*, were named to be the Councell, and to choose a President amongst them for a yeare, who with the Councell should governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Iury, but determined by the maior part of the Councell, in which the President had two voyces. Vntill the 13 of May they sought a place to plant in, then the Councell was sworne, Mr *Wingfield* was chosen President, and an Oration made, why Captaine *Smith* was not admitted of the Councell as the rest.

Now falleth every man to worke, the Councell contriue the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide clapbord to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets, &c. The Salvages often visited vs kindly. The Presidents overweening iealousie would admit no exercise at armes, or fortification, but the boughs of trees cast together in the forme of a halfe moone by the extraordinary paines and deligence of Captaine *Kendall*. *Newport*, *Smith*, and twentie others, were sent to discover the head of the river: by divers small habitations they passed, in six dayes they arrived at a Towne called *Powhatan*, consisting of some twelue houses, pleasantly seated on a hill; before it three fertile Isles, about it many of their cornefields, the place is very pleasant, and strong by nature, of this place the Prince is called *Powhatan*, and his people *Powhatans*, to this place the river is navigable: but higher within a myle, by reason of the Rockes and Isles, there is not passage for a small Boat, this they call the Falles, the people in all parts kindly intreated them, till being returned within twentie myles of *Iames* towne, they gaue iust cause of iealousie, but had God not blessed the discoveries otherwise then those at the Fort, there had then beene an end of that plantation; for at the Fort. where they arrived the next day, they found 17 men hurt. and a boy slaine by the Salvages. and had it not chanced a crosse barre, shot from the Ships strooke downe a bough from a tree amongst them. that caused them to retire. our men had all

beene slaine, being securely all at worke, and their armes in dry fats.

Herevpon the President was contented the Fort should be pallisadoed, the Ordnance mounted, his men armed and exercised, for many were the assaults, and ambuscadoes of the Salvages, and our men by their disorderly stragling were often hurt, when the Salvages, by the nimblenesse of their heeles well escaped. What toyle we had, with so small a power to guard our workemen adayes, watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our businesse, to relade the ships, cut downe trees, and prepare the ground to plant our Corne, &c, I referre to the Readers consideration. Six weekes being spent in this manner, Captaine *Newport* (who was hired onely for our transportation) was to returne with the ships. Now Captaine *Smith*, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries was restrained as a prisoner vpon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefe (envying his repute) who fained he intended to vsurpe the government, murther the Councell, and make himselfe King, that his confederats were dispersed in all the three ships, and that divers of his confederats that revealed it, would affirme it, for this he was committed as a prisoner: thirteene weekes he remained thus suspected, and by that time the ships should returne they pretended out of their commisserations, to referre him to the Councell in *England* to receiue a check, rather then by particulating his designes make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or vtterly overthrow his reputation. But he so much scorned their charitie, and publikely defied the vttermost of their crueltie, he wisely prevented their policies, though he could not suppresse their envies, yet so well he demeaned himselfe in this businesse, as all the company did see his innocency, and his adversaries malice, and those suborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of subornation; many vntruthes were alledged against him; but being so apparently disproved, begat a generall hatred in the hearts of the company against such vniust Commanders, that the President was adiudged to giue him 200l. so that all he had was seized vpon, in part of satisfaction, which *Smith* presently returned to the Store for the generall vse of the *Colony*. Many were the mischiefes that daily spring from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits: but the good Doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher Mr *Hunt* reconciled them, and caused Captaine *Smith* to be

admitted of the Councell; the next day all receiued the Communion, the day following the Salvages voluntarily desired peace, and Captaine *Newport* returned for *England* with newes; leaving in *Virginia* 100. the 15 of Iune 1607.

By this obserue;

> Good men did ne'er their Countries ruine bring.
> But when euill men shall iniuries beginne;
> Not caring to corrupt and violate
> The iudgments-seats for their owne Lucr's sake:
> Then looke that Country cannot long haue peace,
> Though for the present it haue rest and ease.

The names of them that were the first Planters, were these following.

Mr. Edward Maria Wingfield.
Captaine Bartholomew Gosnoll.
Captaine Iohn Smith.
Captaine Iohn Ratliffe.
Captaine Iohn Martin.
Captaine George Kendall.
Councel.

Mr. Robert Hunt *Preacher.*
Mr. George Percie.
Anthony Gosnoll.
George Flower.
Cap. Gabriell Archer.
Robert Fenton.
Robert Ford.
William Bruster.
Edward Harrington.
Dru Pickhouse.
Thomas Iacob.
Iohn Brookes.
Ellis Kingston.
Thomas Sands.
Beniamin Beast.
Iohn Robinson.
Thomas Mouton.
Eustace Clovill.
Stephen Halthrop.
Kellam Throgmorton.
Edward Morish.
Nathaniell Powell.
Edward Browne.
Robert Behethland.
Iohn Pennington,
Ieremy Alicock.
George Walker.
Thomas Studley.
Richard Crofts.
Nicholas Houlgraue.
Thomas Webbe.
Iohn Waller.
Iohn Short.
William Tankard.
William Smethes.
Francis Snarsbrough.
Gentlemen.

Richard Simons.
Edward Brookes-
Richard Dixon.
Iohn Martin.
Roger Cooke.
Anthony Gosnold.
Tho: Wotton, *Chirurg.*
Iohn Stevenson.
Thomas Gore.
Henry Adling.
Francis Midwinter,
Richard Frith.
Gentlemen.

William Laxon.
Edward Pising.
Thomas Emry.
Robert Small.
Carpen's.

Iohn Laydon.
William Cassen.
George Cassen.
Thomas Cassen.
William Rhodes.
William White.
Old Edward.
Henry Tavin.
George Goulding.
Iohn Dods.
William Iohnson.
William Vnger.
Labourers.

Iam: Read, *Blacksmith.*
Ionas Profit, *Sailer.*
Tho: Cowper, *Barber.*
Wil: Garret, *Bricklayer.*
Edward Brinto, *Mason.*
William Loue, *Taylor.*
Nic: Scot, *Drum.*
Wil: Wilkinson, *Chirurg.*
Samuell Collier, *boy.*
Nat. Pecock, *boy.*
Iames Brumfield, *boy.*
Richard Mutton, *boy.*

With divers others to the number of 100.

CHAP. II.

What happened till the first supply.

Being thus left to our fortunes, it fortuned that within ten dayes scarce ten amongst vs could either goe, or well stand, such extreame weaknes and sicknes oppressed vs. And thereat none need marvaile, if they consider the cause and reason, which was this: whilest the ships stayed, our allowance was somewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of Bisket, which the sailers would pilfer to sell, giue, or exchange with vs, for money, Saxefras, furres, or loue. But when they departed, there remained neither taverne, beere-house, nor place of reliefe, but the common Kettell. Had we beene as free from all sinnes as gluttony, and drunkennesse, we might haue beene canonized for Saints: But our President would never haue beene admitted, for ingrossing to his private, Oatmeale, Sacke, Oyle, *Aquavitæ*, Beefe, Egges, or what not, but the Kettell: that indeed he allowed equally to be distributed, and that was halfe a pint of wheat, and as much barley boyled with water for a man a day, and this having fryed some 26. weekes in the ships hold, contained as many wormes as graines; so that we might truely call it rather so much bran then corne, our drinke was water, our lodgings Castles in the ayre: with this lodging and dyet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting Pallisadoes, so strained and bruised vs, and our continual labour in the extremitie of the heat had so weakened vs, as were cause sufficient to haue made vs as miserable in our natiue Countrey, or any other place in the world. From May, to September, those that escaped, liued vpon Sturgeon and Sea-crabs, fiftie in this time we buried, the rest seeing the Presidents proiects to escape these miseries in our Pinnace by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor sicknes) so moved our dead spirits, as we deposed him; and established *Ratcliffe* in his place, (*Gosnoll* being dead) *Kendall* deposed. *Smith* newly recovered, *Martin* and *Ratcliffe* was by his care preserved and relieued, and the most of the souldiers recovered, with the skilfull diligence of Mr. *Thomas Wotton* our Chirurgian generall. But now was all our provision spent, the Sturgeon gone, all helps abandoned, each houre expecting the

fury of the Salvages: when God the patron of all good indevours, in that desperate extremitie so changed the heart of the Salvages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits, and provision, as no man wanted.

And now where some affirmed it was ill done of the Councell to send forth men so badly provided, this incontradictable reason will shew them plainely they are too ill advised to nourish such ill conceits: first, the fault of our going was our owne, what could be thought fitting or necessary we had, but what we should find, or want, or where we should be, we were all ignorant, and supposing to make our passage in two moneths, with victuall to liue, and the advantage of the spring to worke; we were at Sea fiue moneths, where we both spent our victuall and lost the opportunitie of the time, and season to plant, by the vnskilfull presumption of our ignorant transporters, that vnderstood not at all, what they vndertooke.

Such actions haue ever since the worlds beginning beene subiect to such accidents, and every thing of worth is found full of difficulties, but nothing so difficult as to establish a Common wealth so farre remote from men and meanes, and where mens mindes are so vntoward as neither doe well themselues, nor suffer others. But to proceed.

The new President and *Martin*, being little beloved, of weake iudgement in dangers, and lesse industrie in peace, committed the managing of all things abroad to Captaine *Smith*: who by his owne example, good words, and faire promises, set some to mow, others to binde thatch, some to build houses, others to thatch them, himselfe alwayes bearing the greatest taske for his owne share, so that in short time, he provided most of them lodgings, neglecting any for himselfe. This done, seeing the Salvages superfluitie beginne to decrease (with some of his workemen) shipped himselfe in the Shallop to search the Country for trade. The want of the language, knowledge to mannage his boat without sailes, the want of a sufficient power, (knowing the multitude of the Salvages) apparell for his men, and other necessaries, were infinite impediments, yet no discouragement. Being but six or seaven in company he went downe the river to *Kecoughtan*, where at first they scorned him, as a famished man, and would in derision offer him a handfull of Corne, a peece of bread, for their swords and muskets, and such like proportions also for their apparell. But seeing by trade and courtesie there was

nothing to be had, he made bold to try such conclusions as necessitie inforced, though contrary to his Commission: Let fly his muskets, ran his boat on shore, whereat they all fled into the woods. So marching towards their houses, they they might see great heapes of corne: much a doe he had to restraine his hungry souldiers from present taking of it, expecting as it hapned that the Salvages would assault them, as not long after they did with a most hydeous noyse. Sixtie or seaventie of them, some blacke, some red, some white, some party-coloured, came in a square order, singing and dauncing out of the woods, with their *Okee* (which was an Idoll made of skinnes, stuffed with mosse, all painted and hung with chaines and copper) borne before them: and in this manner being well armed, with Clubs, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes, they charged the English, that so kindly receiued them with their muskets loaden with Pistoll shot, that downe fell their God, and divers lay sprauling on the ground; the rest fled againe to the woods, and ere long sent one of their *Quiyoughkasoucks* to offer peace, and redeeme their *Okee*. *Smith* told them, if onely six of them would come vnarmed and loade his boat, he would not only be their friend, but restore them their *Okee*, and giue them Beads, Copper, and Hatchets besides: which on both sides was to their contents performed: and then they brought him Venison, Turkies, wild foule, bread, and what they had, singing and dauncing in signe of friendship till they departed. In his returne he discovered the Towne and Country of *Warraskoyack*.

Thus God vnboundlesse by his power,
Made them thus kinde would vs devour.

Smith perceiving (notwithstanding their late miserie) not any regarded but from hand to mouth (the company being well recovered) caused the Pinnace to be provided with things fitting to get provision for the yeare following: but in the interim he made 3. or 4. iournies and discovered the people of *Chickahamania*: yet what he carefully provided the rest carelesly spent. *Wingfield* and *Kendall* liuing in disgrace, seeing all things at randome in the absence of *Smith*, the companies dislike of their Presidents weaknes, and their small loue to *Martins* never mending sicknes, strengthened themselues with the sailers, and other confederates to regaine their former credit and authority, or at least such meanes abord the

Pinnace, (being fitted to saile as *Smith* had appointed for trade) to alter her course and to goe for *England*. *Smith* vnexpectedly returning had the plot discovered to him, much trouble he had to prevent it, till with store of sakre and musket shot he forced them stay or sinke in the riuer, which action cost the life of captaine *Kendall*. These brawles are so disgustfull, as some will say they were better forgotten, yet all men of good iudgement will conclude, it were better their basenes should be manifest to the world, then the busines beare the scorne and shame of their excused disorders. The President and captaine *Archer* not long after intended also to haue abandoned the country, which proiect also was curbed, and suppressed by *Smith*. The *Spaniard* never more greedily desired gold then he victuall, nor his souldiers more to abandon the Country, then he to keepe it. But finding plentie of Corne in the river of *Chickahamania* where hundreds of Salvages in diuers places stood with baskets expecting his comming. And now the winter approaching, the rivers became so covered with swans, geese, duckes, and cranes, that we daily feasted with good bread, Virginia pease, pumpions, and putchamins, fish, fowle, and diverse sorts of wild beasts as fat as we could eate them: so that none of our Tuftaffaty humorists desired to goe for *England*. But our *Comedies* never endured long without a *Tragedie*; some idle exceptions being muttered against Captaine *Smith*, for not discovering the head of *Chickahamania* river, and taxed by the Councell, to be too slow in so worthy an attempt. The next voyage hee proceeded so farre that with much labour by cutting of trees in sunder he made his passage, but when his Barge could pass no farther, he left her in a broad bay out of danger of shot, commanding none should goe a shore till his returne: himselfe with two English and two Salvages went vp higher in a Canowe, but hee was not long absent, but his men went a shore, whose want of government, gaue both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages to surprise one *George Cassen*, whom they slew, and much failed not to haue cut of the boat and all the rest. *Smith* little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marshes at the rivers head, twentie myles in the desert, had his [*] two men slaine (as is supposed) sleeping by the Canowe, whilst himselfe by fowling sought them victuall,

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[*] *Iohn Robinson* and *Thomas Emry* slaine.

who finding he was beset with 200. Salvages, two of them hee slew, still defending himselfe with the ayd of a Salvage his guide, whom he bound to his arme with his garters, and vsed him as a buckler, yet he was shot in his thigh a little, and had many arrowes that stucke in his cloathes but no great hurt, till at last they tooke him prisoner. When this newes came to *Iames* towne, much was their sorrow for his losse, fewe expecting what ensued. Sixe or seuen weekes those Barbarians kept him prisoner, many strange triumphes and coniurations they made of him, yet hee so demeaned himselfe amongst them, as he not onely diverted them from surprising the Fort, but procured his owne libertie, and got himselfe and his company such estimation amongst them, that those Salvages admired him more then their owne *Quiyouckosucks*. The manner how they vsed and deliuered him, is as followeth.

The Salvages hauing drawne from *George Cassen* whether Captaine *Smith* was gone, prosecuting that opportunity they followed him with 300. bowmen, conducted by the King of *Pamavnkee*, who in diuisions searching the turnings of the riuer, found *Robinson* and *Emry* by the fire side, those they shot full of arrowes and slew. Then finding the Captaine, as is said, that vsed the Salvage that was his guide as his sheld (three of them being slaine and diuers other so gauld) all the rest would not come neere him. Thinking thus to haue returned to his boat, regarding them, as he marched, more then his way, slipped vp to the middle in an oasie creeke and his Salvage with him, yet durst they not come to him till being neere dead with cold, he threw away his armes. Then according to their composition they drew him forth and led him to the fire, where his men were slaine. Diligently they chafed his benummed limbs. He demanding for their Captaine, they shewed him *Opechankanough*, King of *Pamavnkee*, to whom he gaue a round Ivory double compass Dyall. Much they marvailed at the playing of the Fly and Needle, which they could see so plainely, and yet not touch it, because of the glasse that covered them. But when he demonstrated by that Globe-like Iewell, the roundnesse of the earth, and skies, the spheare of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, and how the Sunne did chase the night round about the world continually; the greatnesse of the Land and Sea, the diversitie of Nations, varietie of complexions, and how we were to them *Antipodes*, and many other such like matters, they all stood as amazed

with admiration. Notwithstanding, within an houre after they tyed him to a tree, and as many as could stand about him prepared to shoot him, but the King holding vp the Compass in his hand, they all laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and in a triumphant manner led him to *Orapaks*, where he was after their manner kindly feasted, and well vsed.

Their order in conducting him was thus; Drawing themselues all in fyle, the King in the middest had all their Peeces and Swords borne before him. Captaine *Smith* was led after him by three great Salvages, holding him fast by each arme: and on each side six went in fyle with their Arrowes nocked. But arriving at the Towne (which was but onely thirtie or fortie hunting houses made of Mats, which they remoue as they please, as we our tents) all the women and children staring to behold him, the souldiers first all in fyle performed the forme of a *Bissom* so well as could be; and on each flanke, officers as Serieants to see them keepe their orders. A good time they continued this exercise, and then cast themselues in a ring, dauncing in such severall Postures, and singing and yelling out such hellish notes and screeches; being strangely painted, every one his quiver of Arrowes, and at his backe a club; on his arme a Fox or an Otters skinne, or some such matter for his vambrace; their heads and shoulders painted red, with Oyle and *Pocones* mingled together, which Scarletlike colour made an exceeding handsome shew, his Bow in his hand, and the skinne of a Bird with her wings abroad dryed, tyed on his head, a peece of copper, a white shell, a long feather, with a small rattle growing at the tayles of their snaks tyed to it, or some such like toy. All this while *Smith* and the King stood in the middest guarded, as before is said, and after three dances they all departed. *Smith* they conducted to a long house, where thirtie or fortie tall fellowes did guard him, and ere long more bread and venison was brought him then would haue served twentie men, I thinke his stomacke at that time was not very good; what he left they put in baskets and tyed over his head. About midnight they set the meate againe before him, all this time not one of them would eate a bit with him, till the next morning they brought him as much more, and then did they eate all the old, and reserved the new as they had done the other, which made him thinke they would fat him to eat him. Yet in this desperate estate to defend him from the cold, one *Maocassater*

brought him his gowne, in requitall of some beads and toyes *Smith* had given him at his first arrivall in *Virginia*.

Two dayes after a man would haue slaine him (but that the guard prevented it) for the death of his sonne, to whom they conducted him to recover the poore man then breathing his last. *Smith* told them that at *Iames* towne he had a water would doe it, if they would let him fetch it, but they would not permit that; but made all the preparations they could to assault *Iames* towne, crauing his advice, and for recompence he should haue life, libertie, land, and women. In part of a Table booke he writ his minde to them at the Fort, what was intended, how they should follow that direction to affright the messengers, and without fayle send him such things as he writ for. And an Inventory with them. The difficultie and danger, he told the Salvages, of the Mines, great gunnes, and other Engins exceedingly affrighted them, yet according to his request they went to *Iames* towne, in as bitter weather as could be of frost and snow, and within three dayes returned with an answer.

But when they came to *Iames* towne, seeing men sally out as he had told them they would, they fled; yet in the night they came againe to the same place where he had told them they should receiue an answer, and such things as he had promised them, which they found accordingly, and with which they returned with no small expedition, to the wonder of them all that heard it, that he could either divine, or the paper could speake: then they led him to the *Youthtanunds*, the *Mattapanients*, the *Payankatanks*, the *Nantaughtacunds*, and *Onawmanients* vpon the rivers of *Rapahanock*, and *Patawomek*, over all those rivers, and backe againe by divers other severall Nations, to the Kings habitation at *Pamavnkee*, where they entertained him with most strange and fearefull Coniurations;

As if neare led to hell,
Amongst the Devils to dwell

Not long after, early in a morning a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on the one side, as on the other; on the one they caused him to sit, and all the guard went out of the house, and presently came skipping in a great grim fellow, all painted over with coale, mingled with oyle; and many Snakes and Wesels skins stuffed with mosse, and

all their tayles tyed together, so as they met on the crowne of his head in a tassell; and round about the tassell was as a Coronet of feathers, the skins hanging round about his head, backe, and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face; with a hellish voyce and a rattle in his hand. With most strange gestures and passions he began his invocation, and environed the fire with a circle of meale; which done, three more such like devils came rushing in with the like antique tricks, painted halfe blacke, halfe red: but all their eyes were painted white, and some red stroakes like Mutchato's, along their cheekes: round about him those fiends daunced a pretty while, and then came in three more as vgly as the rest; with red eyes, and white stroakes over their blacke faces, at last they all sat downe right against him; three of them on the one hand of the chiefe Priest, and three on the other. Then all with their rattles began a song, which ended, the chiefe Priest layd downe fiue wheat cornes: then strayning his armes and hands with such violence that he sweat, and his veynes swelled, he began a short Oration: at the conclusion they all gaue a short groane; and then layd downe three graines more. After that, began their song againe, and then another Oration, ever laying downe so many cornes as before, til they had twice incirculed the fire; that done, they tooke a bunch of little stickes prepared for that purpose, continuing still their devotion, and at the end of every song and Oration, they layd downe a sticke betwixt the divisions of Corne. Till night, neither he nor they did either eate or drinke, and then they feasted merrily, with the best provisions they could make. Three dayes they vsed this Ceremony; the meaning whereof they told him, was to know if he intended them well or no. The circle of meale signified their Country, the circles of corne the bounds of the Sea; and the stickes his Country. They imagined the world to be flat and round, like a trencher, and they in the middest. After this they brought him a bagge of gunpowder, which they carefully preserved till the next spring, to plant as they did their corne; because they would be acquainted with the nature of that seede. *Opitchapam* the Kings brother invited him to his house, where, with as many platters of bread, foule, and wild beasts, as did inviron him, he bid him wellcome; but not any of them would eate a bit with him, but put vp all the remainder in Baskets. At his returne to *Opechancanoughs.*

all the Kings women, and their children, flocked about him for their parts, as a due by Custome, to be merry with such fragments.

But his waking mind in hydeous dreames did oft see wondrous shapes
Of bodies strange, and huge in growth, and of stupendious makes.

At last they brought him to *Meronocomoco*, where was *Powhatan* their Emperor. Here more then two hundred of those grim Courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had beene a monster; till *Powhatan* and his trayne had put themselues in their greatest braveries. Before a fire vpon a seat like a bedsted, he sat covered with a great robe, made of *Rarowcun* skinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 yeares, and along on each side the house, two rowes of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with something: and a great chayne of white beads about their necks. At his entrance before the King, all the people gaue a great shout. The Queene of *Appamatuck* was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, in stead of a Towell to dry them: having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before *Powhatan:* then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, *Pocahontas* the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne vpon his to saue him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should liue to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him as well of all occupations as themselues. For the King himselfe will make his owne robes, shooes, bowes, arrowes, pots: plant, hunt, or doe any thing so well as the rest.

They say he bore a pleasant shew,
But sure his heart was sad.
For who can pleasant be, and rest,
That liues in feare and dread:
And having life suspected, doth
It still suspected lead.

Two dayes after, *Powhatan* having disguised himselfe in the most fearfullest manner he could, caused Capt. *Smith* to

be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there vpon a mat by the fire to be left alone. Not long after from behinde a mat that divided the house, was made the most dolefullest noyse he ever heard; then *Powhatan* more like a devill then a man with some two hundred more as blacke as himselfe, came vnto him and told him now they were friends, and presently he should goe to *Iames* towne, to send him two great gunnes, and a gryndstone, for which he would giue him the Country of *Capahowosick*, and for ever esteeme him as his sonne *Nantaquoud*. So to *Iames* towne with 12 guides *Powhatan* sent him. That night they quartered in the woods, he still expecting (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment) every houre to be put to one death or other: for all their feasting. But almightie God (by his divine providence) had mollified the hearts of those sterne *Barbarians* with compassion. The next morning betimes they came to the Fort, where *Smith* having vsed the Salvages with what kindnesse he could, he shewed *Rawhunt*, *Powhatans* trusty servant two demi-Culverings and a millstone to carry *Powhatan:* they found them somewhat too heavie; but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with Isickles, the yce and branches came so tumbling downe, that the poore Salvages ran away halfe dead with feare. But at last we regained some conference with them, and gaue them such toyes; and sent to *Powhatan*, his women, and children such presents, and gaue them in generall full content. Now in *Iames* Towne they were all in combustion, the strongest preparing once more to run away with the Pinnace; which with the hazzard of his life, with Sakre falcon and musket shot, *Smith* forced now the third time to stay or sinke. Some no better then they should be, had plotted with the President, the next day to haue put him to death by the Leviticall law, for the liues of *Robinson* and *Emry*, pretending the fault was his that had led them to their ends: but he quickly tooke such order with such Lawyers, that he layd them by the heeles till he sent some of them prisoners for *England*. Now ever once in foure or fiue dayes, *Pocahontas* with her attendants, brought him so much provision, that saved many of their liues, that els for all this had starved with hunger.

Thus from numbe death our good God sent reliefe,
The sweete asswager of all other griefe.

His relation of the plenty he had scene, especially at *Werawocomoco*, and of the state and bountie of *Powhatan*, (which till that time was vnknowne) so revived their dead spirits (especially the loue of *Pocahontas*) as all mens feare was abandoned. Thus you may see what difficulties still crossed any good indevour: and the good successe of the businesse being thus oft brought to the very period of destruction; yet you see by what strange means God hath still delivered it. As for the insufficiency of them admitted in Commission, that error could not be prevented by the Electors; there being no other choise, and all strangers to each others education, qualities, or disposition. And if any deeme it a shame to our Nation to haue any mention made of those inormities, let them pervse the Histories of the Spanyards Discoveries and Plantations, where they may see how many mutinies, disorders, and dissentions haue accompanied them, and crossed their attempts: which being knowne to be particular mens offences: doth take away the generall scorne and contempt, which malice, presumption, covetousnesse, or ignorance might produce; to the scandall and reproach of those, whose actions and valiant resolutions deserue a more worthy respect.

Now whether it had beene better for Captaine *Smith*, to haue concluded with any of those severall proiects, to haue abandoned the Countrey, with some ten or twelue of them, who were called the better sort, and haue left Mr *Hunt* our Preacher, Master *Anthony Gosnoll*, a most honest, worthy, and industrious Gentlemen, Master *Thomas Wotton*, and some 27 others of his Countreymen to the fury of the Salvages, famine, and all manner of mischiefes, and inconveniences, (for they were but fortie in all to keepe possession of this large Countrey;) or starue himselfe with them for company, for want of lodging: or but adventuring abroad to make them provision, or by his opposition to preserue the action, and saue all their liues; I leaue to the censure of all honest men to consider. But

We men imagine in our Iolitie,
That 'tis all one, or good or bad to be.
But then anone wee alter this againe,
If happily wee feele the sence of paine;
For then we're turn'd into a mourning vaine.

Written by *Thomas Studley*, the first Cape Merchant in *Virginia*,
Robert Fenton, *Edward Harrington*, and *I. S.*

CHAP. III.

The Arrivall of the first supply, with their Proceedings, and the Ships returne.

ALL this time our care was not so much to abandon the Country; but the Treasurer and Councell in *England*, were as diligent and carefull to supply vs. Two good ships they sent vs, with neare a hundred men, well furnished with all things could be imagined necessary, both for them and vs; The one commanded by Captaine *Newport:* the other by Captaine *Francis Nelson*, an honest man, and an expert Marriner. But such was the lewardnesse of his Ship (that though he was within the sight of *Cape Henry*) by stormy contrary winds was he forced so farre to Sea, that the West *Indies* was the next land, for the repaire of of his Masts, and reliefe of wood and water. But *Newport* got in and arrived at *Iames* Towne, not long after the redemption of Captaine *Smith*. To whom the Salvages, as is sayd, every other day repaired, with such provisions that sufficiently did serue them from hand to mouth: part alwayes they brought him as Presents from their Kings, or *Pocahontas*; the rest he as their Market Clarke set the price himselfe, how they should sell: so he had inchanted these poore soules being their prisoner; and now *Newport*, whom he called his Father arriving, neare as directly as he foretold, they esteemed him as an Oracle, and had them at that submission he might command them at what he listed. That God had created all things they knew he adored for his God: they would also in their discourses tearme the God of Captaine *Smith*.

Thus the Almightie was the bringer on,
The guide, path, terme, all which was God alone.

But the President and Councell so much envied his estimation among the Salvages, (though we all in generall equally participated with him of the good thereof, that they wrought it into the Salvages vnderstandings (by their great bounty in giving foure times more for their commodities then *Smith* appointed) that their greatnesse and authoritie as much exceeded his, as their bountie and liberalitie. Now the arrivall of this first supply so overioyed vs, that wee could not devise too much to please the Mariners. We gaue them libertie to trucke

or trade at their pleasures. But in a short time it followed, that could not be had for a pound of Copper, which before was sould vs for an ounce: thus ambition and sufferance cut the throat of our trade, but confirmed their opinion of the greatnesse of Capt. *Newport* (wherewith *Smith* had possessed *Powhatan*) especially by the great presents *Newport* often sent him, before he could prepare the Pinnace to goe and visit him: so that this great Savage desired also to see him. A great coyle there was to set him forward. When he went he was accompanied with Captaine *Smith*, and Mr *Scrivener*, a very wise vnderstanding Gentlemen, newly arrived and admitted of the Councell, with thirtie or fortie chosen men for their guard. Arriving at *Werowcomoco*, *Newports* conceit of this great Savage bred many doubts and suspitions of trecheries, which *Smith* to make appeare was needlesse, with twentie men well appointed, vndertooke to encounter the worst that could happen: Knowing

All is but one, and selfe-same hand that thus
Both one while scourgeth, and that helpeth vs.

Nathaniell Powell.
Robert Behethland.
Michell Phittiplace.
William Phittiplace.
Anthony Gosnoll.
Richard Wyffin.
Gentlemen.

Iohn Taverner.
William Dyer.
Thomas Coe.
Thomas Hope.
Anas Todkill.
Gentlemen.

These, with nine others (whose nanes I haue forgotten) comming a-shore, landed amongt a many of creekes, over which they were to passe such poore bridges, onely made of a few cratches, thrust in the ose, and three or foure poles laid on them, and at the end of them the like, tyed together onely with barkes of trees, that it made them much suspect those bridges were bvt traps. Which caused *Smith* to make diverse Salvages goe over first, keeping some of the chiefe as hostage till halfe his men were passed, to make a guard for himselfe and the rest. But finding all things well, by two or three hundred Salvages they were kindly conducted to their towne. Where *Powhatan* strained himselfe to the vtmost of his greatnesse to entertaine them, with great shouts of ioy, Orations of protestations; and with the most plenty of victualls he could provide to feast them. Sitting vpon his bed of mats, his pillow of leather imbrodered (after their rude manner with pearle and white Beads) his attyre a faire robe of skinnes as large as an Irish mantell: at his head and feete

a handsome young woman: on each side his house sat twentie of his Concubines, their heads and shoulders painted red, with a great chaine of white beads about each of their neckes. Before those sat his chiefest men in like order in his arbour-like house, and more then fortie platters of fine bread stood as a guard in two fyles on each side the doore. Foure or fiue hundred people made a guard behinde them for our passage: and Proclamation was made, none vpon paine of death to presume to doe vs any wrong or discourtesie. With many pretty Discourses to renew their old acquaintance, this great King and our Captaine spent the time, till the ebbe left our Barge aground. Then renewing their feasts with feates, dauncing and singing, and such like mirth, we quartered that night with *Powhatan*. The next day *Newport* came a shore and receiued as much content as those people could giue him: a boy named *Thomas Salvage* was then giuen vnto *Powhatan*, whom *Newport* called his sonne: for whom *Powhatan* gaue him *Namontack* his trustie servant, and one of a shrewd, subtill capacitie. Three or foure dayes more we spent in feasting, dauncing, and trading, wherein *Powhatan* carried himselfe so proudly, yet discreetly (in his salvage manner) as made vs all admire his naturall gifts, considering his education. As scorning to trade as his subiects did; he bespake *Newport* in this manner.

Captaine Newport *it is not agreeable to my greatnesse, in this pedling manner to trade for trifles; and I esteeme you also a great Werowance. Therefore lay me downe all your commodities together; what I like I will take, and in recompence giue you what I thinke fitting their value.* Captaine *Smith* being our interpreter, regarding *Newport* as his father, knowing best the disposition of *Powhatan*, told vs his intent was but onely to cheate vs; yet Captaine *Newport* thinking to out braue this Salvage in ostentation of greatnesse, and so to bewitch him with his bountie, as to haue what he listed, it so hapned, that *Powhatan* hauing his desire, valued his corne at such a rate, that I thinke it better cheape in *Spaine*: for we had not foure bushells for that we expected to haue twentie hogsheads. This bred some vnkindnesse betweene our two Captaines; *Newport* seeking to please the vnsatiable desire of the Salvage, *Smith* to cause the Salvage to please him; but smothering his distast to avoyd the Saluages suspition, glanced in the eyes of *Powhatan* many trifles who fixed

his humor vpon a few blew beades. A long time he importunately desired them, but *Smith* seemed so much the more to affect them, as being composed of a most rare substance of the colour of the skyes, and not to be worne but by the greatest kings in the world. This made him halfe madde to be the owner of such strange Iewells: so that ere we departed, for a pound or two of blew beades, he brought ouer my king for 2. or 300. Bushells of corne; yet parted good friends. The like entertainment we found of *Opechankanough* king of *Pamavnkee,* whom also he in like manner fitted (at the like rates) with blew beads, which grew by this meanes, of that estimation, that none durst weare any of them but their great kings, their wiues and children. And so we returned all well to *Iames* towne, where this new supply being lodged with the rest, accidentally fired their quarters and so the towne, which being but thatched with reeds, the fire was so fierce as it burnt their Pallisado's, (though eight or ten yards distant) with their Armes, bedding, apparell, and much priuate prouision. Good Master *Hunt* our Preacher lost all his liberary and all he had but the cloathes on his backe: yet none neuer heard him repine at his losse. This happned in the winter in that extreame frost. 1607. Now though we had victuall sufficient I meane onely of Oatmeale, meale and corne, yet the Ship staying 14. weekes when shee might as wel haue beene gone in 14. dayes, spent a great part of that, and neare all the rest that was sent to be landed. When they departed what their discretion could spare vs, to make a little poore meale or two, we called feastes, to relish our mouthes: of each somwhat they left vs, yet I must confesse, those that had either money, spare clothes credit to giue billes of paiment, gold rings, furrs, or any such commodities, were euer welcome to this remouing tauerne. such was our patience to obay such vile commanders, and buy our owne prouisions at 15. times the value, suffering them feast (we bearing the charge) yet must not repine, but fast, least we should incurre the censure of factious and seditious persons: and then leakage, ship rats, and other casuallties occasioned them losse, but the vessels and remnants (for totals) we were glad to receaue with all our hearts to make vp the account, highly commending their prouidence for preseruing that, least they should discourage any more to come to vs. Now for all this plenty our ordynary was but meale and water, so that this great charge little releeued our wants, whereby with

the extremitie of the bitter cold frost and those defects, more then halfe of vs dyed; I cannot deny but both *Smith* and *Skriuener* did their best to amend what was amisse, but with the President went the maior part, that there hornes were to short. But the worst was our guilded refiners with their golden promises made all men their slaues in hope of recompences; there was no talke, no hope, no worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, loade gold, such a bruit of gold, that one mad fellow desired to be buried in the sands least they should by there art make gold of his bones, little neede there was and lesse reason, the ship should stay, there wages run on, our victualls consume 14. weekes, that the Mariners might say, they did helpe to build such a golden Church that we can say the raine washed neere to nothing in 14. dayes. Were it that captaine *Smith* would not applaude all those golden inventions, because they admitted him not to the sight of their trialls nor golden consultations; I know not, but I haue heard him oft question with Captaine *Martin* and tell him, except he could shew him a more substantiall triall, he was not inamoured with their durty skill, breathing out these and many other passions, neuer any thing did more torment him, then to see all necessary busines neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship with so much guilded durt. Till then we neuer accounted Captaine *Newport* a refiner, who being ready to set saile for *England*, and we not hauing any vse of Parliaments, Plaises, Petitions, Admiralls, Recorders, Interpreters, Chronologers, Courts of Plea, nor Iustices of peace sent Master *Wingfield* and Captaine *Archer* home with him, that had ingrossed all those titles, to seeke some better place of imployment.

Oh cursed gold those, hunger-starued movers,
To what misfortunes lead'st thou all those lovers
For all the *China* wealth, nor *Indies* can
Suffice the minde of an av'ritious man.

CHAP. IIII.

The Arrivall of the Phœnix: her returne; and other Accidents.

The authoritie now consisting in Captaine *Martin*, and the still sickly President, the sale of the Stores commodities maintained his estate, as an inheritable revenew. The spring approaching, and the ship departing, Mr. *Scrivener* and Captaine *Smith* divided betwixt them the rebuilding *James* towne; the repairing our Pallizadoes; the cutting downe trees; preparing our fields: planting our corne, and to rebuild our Church, and recover our Store house. All men thus busie at their severall labours. Master *Nelson* arrived with his lost *Phœnix;* lost (I say) for that we all deemed him lost. Landing safely all his men, (so well he had mannaged his ill hap,) causing the *Indian Isles* to feede his comcompany, that his victuall to that we had gotten, as is said before, was neare after our allowance sufficient for halfe a yeare. He had not any thing but he freely imparted it, which honest dealing (being a Marriner) caused vs admire him: we would not haue wished more then he did for vs.—Now to relade this ship with some good tydings, the President (not holding it stood with the dignitie of his place to leaue the Fort) gaue order to Captaine *Smith* to discover and search the commodities of the *Monacans* Countrey beyond the Falls. Sixtie able men was allotted them, the which within six dayes, *Smith* had so well trained to their armes and orders, that they little feared with whom they should incounter: yet so vnseasonable was the time, and so opposit was Captaine *Martin* to any thing, but onely to fraught this ship also with his phantasticall gold, as Captaine *Smith* rather desired to relade her with Cedar, (which was a present dispatch) then either with durt, or the hopes and reports of an vncertaine discovery, which he would performe when they had lesse charge and more leisure.

But, The God of Heav'n, He eas'ly can
Immortalize a mortall man,
With glory and with fame.
The same God, ev'n as eas'ly may
Afflict a mortall man, I say,
With sorrow and with shame

Whilst the conclusion was a resolving, this haped.

Powhatan (to expresse his loue to *Newport*) when he departed, presented him with twentie Turkies, conditionally to returne him twentie swords, which immediately was sent him; now after his departure he presented Captaine *Smith* with the like luggage, but not finding his humor obeyed in not sending such weapons as he desired, he caused his people with twentie deuices to obtaine them. At last by ambuscadoes at our very Ports they would take them perforce, surprise vs at worke, or any way; which was so long permitted they became so insolent there was no rule; the command from *England* was so strait not to offend them, as our authoritie-bearers (keeping their houses) would rather be any thing than peace-breakers. This charitable humor prevailed, till well it chanced they medled with Captaine *Smith*, who without farther deliberation gaue them such an incounter, as some he so hunted vp and downe the Isle, some he so terrified with whipping, beating, and imprisonment, as for revenge they surprised two of our forraging disorderly souldiers, and having assembled their forces, boldly threatned at our Ports to force *Smith* to redeliver seven Salvages, which for their villanies he detained prisoners, or we were all but dead men. But to try their furies he sallied out amongst them, and in lesse than an houre, he so hampred their insolencies, they brought them his two men, desiring peace without any further composition for their prisoners. Those he examined, and caused them all beleeue, by severall vollies of shot one of their companions was shot to death, because they would not confesse their intents and plotters of their villanies. And thus they all agreed in one point, they were directed onely by *Powhatan* to obtaine him our weapons, to cut our owne throats, with the manner where, how, and when, which we plainly found most true and apparant: yet he sent his messengers, and his dearest daughter *Pocahontas* with presents to excuse him of the iniuries done by some rash vntoward Captaines his subiects, desiring their liberties for this time, with the assurance of his loue for ever. After *Smith* had given the prisoners what correction he thought fit, vsed them well a day or two after, and then delivered them *Pocahontas*, for whose sake onely he fayned to haue saved their liues, and gaue them libertie. The patient Councell that nothing would moue to warre with the Salvages, would gladly haue wrangled with Captaine

Smith for his crueltie, yet none was slaine to any mans knowledge, but it brought them in such feare and obedience, as his very name would sufficiently affright them; where before, wee had sometime peace and warre twice in a day, and very seldome a weeke, but we had some trecherous villany or other

The fraught of this Ship being concluded to be Cedar, by the diligence of the Master, and Captaine *Smith*, she was quickly reladed: Master *Scrivener* was neither idle nor slow to follow all things at the Fort; the Ship being ready to set sayle, Captaine *Martin* being alwayes very sickly, and vnserviceable, and desirous to inioy the credit of his supposed Art of finding the golden Mine, was most willingly admitted to returne for *England*. For

He hath not fill'd his lapp,
That still doth hold it oap.

From the writings of *Thomas Studley* and *Anas Todkill*.

Their Names that were landed in this Supply,

Mathew Scrivener *appointed to be one of the Councell.*

Michaell Phittiplace.
William Phittiplace.
Ralph Morton.
Richard Wyffing.
Iohn Taverner.
William Cantrell.
Robert Barnes.
Richard Fetherstone.
George Hill.
George Pretty.
Nathaniell Causy.
Peter Pory.
Robert Cutler.
Michaell Sicklemore.
William Bentley.
Thomas Coe.
Doctor Russell.
Ieffrey Abbot.
Edward Gurgana.
Richard Worley.
Timothy Leeds.
Richard Killingbeck.
William Spence.
Richard Prodger.
Richard Pots.
Richard Mullinax
William Bayley.
Francis Perkins.
Iohn Harper.
George Forest.
Gentlemen.

Iohn Nichols.
William Griuell.
Gen.

Raymond Goodison
William Simons.
Iohn Spearman.
Richard Bristow.
William Perce.
Iames Watkins.
Iohn Bouth.
Christopher Rods.
Richard Burket.
Iames Burre.
Nicholas Ven.
Francis Perkins.
Richard Gradon.
Rowland Nelstrop.
Richard Savage.
Thomas Savage.
Richard Milmer
William May.
Vere.
Michaell.
Bishop Wiles.
Labourers.

Thomas Hope.
William Ward.
Iohn Powell.
William Yong.
William Beckwith.
Larence Towtales.
Taylors.

Thomas Field.
John Harford. } *Apothecaries.*
Dani: Stallings, *Ieweller.*
Will: Dawson, *a refiner.*
Abram Ransack, *a refiner.*
Wil: Iohnson, *a Goldsmith.*
Peter Keffer, *a gunsmith.*
Rob: Alberton, *a perfumer.*
Richard Belfield, *a Goldsmith.*
Post Ginnat, *a Chirurg.*
Iohn Lewes, *a Cooper.*
Robert Cotton, *a Tobacco-pipe-maker.*
Richard Dole, *a Blacksmith.*
And divers others to the number of 120.

CHAP. V.

The Accidents that hapned in the Discovery of the Bay of Chisapeack.

THE prodigalitie of the Presidents state went so deepe into our small store, that *Smith* and *Scrivener* tyed him and his Parasites to the rules of proportion. But now *Smith* being to depart, the Presidents authorite so overswayed the discretion of Mr *Scrivener*, that our store, our time, our strength and labours were idely consumed to fulfill his phantasies.—The second of Iune 1608. *Smith* left the Fort to performe his Discovery with this company.

Walter Russsell, *Doctor of Physicke.*
Ralfe Morton.
Thomas Momford.
William Cantrill
Richard Fetherston.
Iames Burne.
Michell Sicklemore. } *Gentlemen.*
Ionas Profit.
Anas Todkill.
Robert Small.
Iames Watkins.
Iohn Powell.
Iames Read.
Richard Keale. } *Souldiers.*

These being in an open Barge neare three tvns burthen, leaving the *Phoenix* at Cape *Henry*, they crossed the Bay to the Easterne shore, and fell with the Isles called *Smiths Isles*, after our Captaines name. The first people we saw were two grim and stout Salvages vpon Cape *Charles*; with long poles like Iauelings, headed with bone, they boldly demanded what we were, and what we would; but after many circumstances they seemed very kinde, and directed vs to *Accomack*, the habitation of their *Werowance*, where we were kindly intreated. This King was the comliest, proper, civill Salvage we incountred. His Country is a pleasant fertile clay soyle, some small creekes; good Harbours for small Barks, but not for Ships. He told vs of a strange accident

lately happened him, and it was, two children being dead: some extreame passions, or dreaming visions, phantasies, or affection moued their parents againe to revisit their dead carkases whose benummed bodies reflected to the eyes of the beholders such delightfull countenances, as though they had regained their vitall spirits. This as a miracle drew many to behold them, all which being a great part of his people, not long after dyed, and but few escaped. They spake the language of *Powhatan*, wherein they made such descriptions of the Bay, Isles, and rivers, that often did vs exceeding pleasure. Passing along the coast, searching every inlet, and Bay, fit for harbours and habitations. Seeing many Isles in the midst of the Bay we bore vp for them, but ere we could obtaine them, such an extreame gust of wind, rayne, thunder, and lightening happened, that with great danger we escaped the vnmercifull raging of that Ocean-like water. The highest land on the mayne, yet it was but low, we called *Keales* hill, and these vninhabited Isles, *Russels* Isles. The next day searching them for fresh water, we could find none; the defect whereof forced vs to follow the next Easterne Channell, which brought vs to the river of *Wighcocomoco*. The people at first with great fury seemed to assault vs, yet at last with songs and daunces and much mirth became very tractable, but searching their habitations for water, we could fill but three barricoes, and that such puddle, that never till then we ever knew the want of good water. We digged and searched in many places, but before two daies were expired, we would haue refused two barricoes of gold for one of that puddle water of *Wighcocomoco*. Being past these Isles which are many in number, but all naught for habitation, falling with a high land vpon the mayne, found a great Pond of fresh water, but so exceeding hot wee supposed it some bath; that place we called poynt *Ployer*, in honor of that most honourable House of *Mousay* in *Britaine*, that in an extreame extremitie once relieued our Captaine. From *Wighcocomoco* to this place, all the coast is low broken Isles of Morap, growne a myle or two in breadth, and ten or twelue in length, good to cut for hay in Summer, and to catch fish and foule in Winter: but the Land beyond them is all covered over with wood, as is the rest of the Country.

Being thus refreshed in crossing ouer from the maine to other Isles, we discouered the wind and waters so much

increased with thunder, lightning, and raine, that our mast and sayle blew ouerbord and such mighty waues ouerracked vs in that small barge that with great labour we kept her from sinking by freeing out the water. Two dayes we were inforced to inhabite these vninhabited Isles which for the extremitie of gusts, thunder, rainne, stormes, and ill wether we called *Limbo.* Repairing our saile with our shirts, we set sayle for the maine and fell with a pretty conuenient riuer on the East called *Cuskarawaok*, the people ran as amazed in troups from place to place. and diuers got into the tops of trees, they were not sparing of their arrowes, nor the greatest passion they could expresse of their anger. Long they shot, we still ryding at an Anchor without there reatch making all the signes of friendship we could. The next day they came vnarmed, with euery one a basket, dancing in a ring, to draw vs on shore: but seeing there was nothing in them but villany, we discharged a volly of muskets charged with pistoll shot, whereat they all lay tumbling on the grownd, creeping some one way, some another into a great cluster of reedes hard by; where there companies lay in Ambuscado. Towards the euening we wayed, and approaching the shoare, discharging fiue or six shot among the reedes we landed where there lay a many of baskets and much bloud, but saw not a Salvage. A smoake appearing on the other side the riuer, we rowed thither, where we found two or three little houses, in each a fire,there we left some peeces of copper, beads, bells. and looking glasses. and then went into the bay, but when it was darke we came backe againe. Early in the morning foure Salvages came to vs in their Canow, whom we vsed with such courtesie, not knowing what we were, nor had done, hauing beene in the bay a fishing, bade vs stay and ere long they would returne. which they did and some twentie more with them; with whom after a little conference, two or three thousand men women and children came clustring about vs, euery one presenting vs with something. which a little bead would so well requite, that we became such friends they would contend who should fetch vs water, stay with vs for hostage, conduct our men any whither. and giue vs the best content. Here doth inhabite the people of *Sarapinagh*, *Nause*, *Arseek*, and *Nantaquak* the best Marchants of all other Salvages.—They much extolled a great nation called *Massawomekes*, in search of whom we returned by *Limbo*: this riuer but onely

at the entrance is very narrow, and the people of small stature as them of *Wighcocomoco*, the Land but low, yet it may proue very commodious, because it is but a ridge of land betwixt the Bay and the maine Ocean. Finding this Easterne shore, shallow broken Isles, and for mostpart without fresh water, we passed by the straites of *Limbo* for the Westerne shore: so broad is the bay here, we could scarce perceiue the great high clifts on the other side: by them we Anchored that night and called them *Riccards Cliftes*. 30. leagues we sayled more Northwards not finding any inhabitants, leauing all the Easterne shore, lowe Islandes, but ouergrowne with wood, as all the Coast beyond them so farre as wee could see: the Westerne shore by which we sayled we found all along well watered, but very mountanous and barren, the vallies very fertill, but extreame thicke of small wood so well as trees, and much frequented with wolues, Beares, Deere and other wild beasts: We passed many shallow creekes, but the first we found Nauigable for a ship, we called *Bolus*, for that the clay in many places vnder the clifts by the high water marke, did grow vp in red and white knots as gum out of trees; and in some places so participated together as though they were all of one nature, excepting the coulour, the rest of the earth on both sides being hard sandy grauell, which made vs thinke it *Bole-Armoniack* and *Terra sigillata*. When we first set sayle some of our Gallants doubted nothing but that our Captaine would make too much hast home, but hauing lien in this small barge not aboue 12. or 14, dayes, oft tyred at the Oares, our bread spoyled with wet so much that it was rotten (yet so good were their stomacks that they could disgest it) they did with continuall complaints so importune him now to returne, as caused him bespeake them in this manner.

Gentlemen, if you would remember the memorable history of Sir Ralph Layne, *how his company importuned him to proceed in the discovery of* Moratico, *alleadging they had yet a dog, that being boyled with saxafras leaues, would richly feede them in their returnes; then what a shame would it be for you (that haue bin so suspitious of my tendernesse) to force me returne, with so much provision as we haue, and scarce able to say where we haue beene, nor yet heard of that we were sent to seeke. You cannot say but I haue shared with you in the worst which is past; and for what is to come, of lodging, dyet, or whatsoeuer, I am contented you allot the worst part*

to myselfe. As for your feares that I will lose my selfe in these vnknowne large waters, or be swallowed vp in some stormie gust; abandon these childish feares, for worse then is past is not likely to happen: and there is as much danger to returne as to proceede. Regaine therefore your old spirits for returne I will not (if God please) till I haue seene the Massawomeks, *found* Patawomek, *or the head of this water you conceit to be endlesse.* Two or 3 dayes we expected winde and wether, whose aduerse extremities added such discouragement, that three or foure fell sicke, whose pittifull complaints caused vs to returne, leauing the bay some nine miles broad, at nine and ten fadome water.

The 16. of *Iune* we fell with the riuer *Patowomek*: feare being gone, and our men recouered, we were all content to take some paines, to know the name of that seuen mile broad riuer: for thirtie myles sayle, we could see no inhabitants: then we were conducted by two Savages vp a little bayed creeke, towards *Onawmanient*, where all the woods were layd with ambuscado's to the number of three or foure thousand Salvages, so strangely paynted. grimed and disguised, shouting, yelling and crying as so many spirits from hell could not haue shewed more terrible. Many brauado's they made, but to appease their fury, our Captaine prepared with as seeming a willingnesse (as they) to incounter them. But the grazing of our bullets vpon the water (many being shot on purpose they might see them) with the Ecco of the woods so amazed them, as downe went their bowes and arrowes: (and exchanging hostage) *Iames Watkins* was sent six myles vp the woods to their Kings habitation. We were kindly vsed of those Salvages, of whom we vnderstood, they were conmanded to betray vs, by the direction of *Powhatan*, and he so directed from the discontents at *Iames* towne, because our Captaine did cause them stay in their country against their wills.

The like incounters we found at *Patowomek*, *Cecocawonee* and diuers other places: but at *Moyaones*, *Nacotchtant* and *Toags* the people did their best to content vs. Hauing gone so high as we could with the bote, we met diuers Saluages in Canowes, well loaden with the flesh of Beares, Deere and other beasts, whereof we had part, here we found mighty Rocks, growing in some places aboue the grownd as high as the shrubby trees, and diuers other solid quarries of diuers

tinctures: and diuers places where the waters had falne from the high mountaines they had left a tinctured spangled skurfe, that made many bare places seeme as guilded. Digging the growne aboue in the highest clifts of rocks, we saw it was a claie sand so mingled with yeallow spangles as if it had beene halfe pin-dust. In our returne inquiring still for this *Matchqueon*, the king of *Patawomeke* gaue vs guides to conduct vs vp a little riuer called *Quiyough*, vp which we rowed so high as we could. Leauing the bote, with six shot, and diuers Salvages, he marched seuen or eight myle before they came to the mine: leading his hostages in a small chaine they were to haue for their paines, being proud to be so richly adorned. The mine is a great Rocky mountaine like *Antimony;* wherein they digged a great hole with shells and hatchets: and hard by it, runneth a fayre brooke of *Christal*-like water, where they wash a way the drosse and keepe the remainder, which they put in little baggs and sell it all ouer the country to paint there bodyes, faces, or Idolls; which makes them looke like Blackmoores dusted over with siluer. With so much as we could carry we returned to our bote, kindly requiting this kinde king and all his kinde people.—The cause of this discovery was to search this mine, of which *Newport* did assure vs that those small baggs (we had giuen him) in *England* he had tryed to hold halfe siluer; but all we got proued of no value: also to search what furrs, the best whereof is at *Cuscarawaoke*, where is made so much *Rawranoke* or white beads that occasion as much dissention among the Salvages, as gold and siluer amongst Christians: and what other mineralls, riuers, rocks, nations, woods, fishings, fruites, victuall, and what other commodities the land afforded: and whether the bay were endlesse or how farre it extended: of mines we were all ignorant, but a few Beauers, Otters, Beares, Martins and minkes we found, and in diuers places that aboundance of fish, lying so thicke with their heads aboue the water, as for want of nets (our barge driuing amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a frying pan: but we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with: neither better fish, more plenty, nor more variety for smal fish, had any of vs euer seene in any place so swimming in the water, but they are not to be caught with frying pans: some small cod also we did see swim close by the shore by

Smiths Iles, and some as high as *Riccards* Clifts. And some we haue found dead vpon the shore.

To expresse all our quarrels, trecheries and incounters amongst those Salvages I should be too tedious: but in breefe, at all times we so incountred them, and curbed their insolencies, that they concluded with presents to purchase peace: yet we lost not a man: at our first meeting out Captaine euer obserued this order to demand their bowes and arrowes, swordes, mantells and furrs, with some childe or two for hostage, whereby we could quickly perceiue, when they intended any villany. Hauing finished this discouery (though our victuall was neere spent) he intended to see his imprisonment-acquaintances vpon the riuer of *Rapahanock*, by many called *Toppahanock*, but our bote by reason of the ebbe, chansing to grownd vpon a many shoules lying in the entrances, we spyed many fishes lurking in the reedes: our Captaine sporting himselfe by nayling them to the grownd with his sword, set vs all a fishing in that manner: thus we tooke more in owne houre then we could eate in a day. But it chansed our Captaine taking a fish from his sword (not knowing her condition) being much of the fashion of a Thornback, but a long tayle like a riding rodde, whereon the middest is a most poysoned sting, of two or three inches long, bearded like a saw on each side, which she strucke into the wrist of his arme neare an inch and a halfe: no bloud nor wound was seene, but a little blew spot, but the torment was instantly so extreame, that in foure houres had so swollen his hand, arme and shoulder, we all with much sorrow concluded his funerall, and prepared his graue in an Island by, as himselfe directed: yet it pleased God by a precious oyle Doctor *Russell* at the first applyed to it when he sounded it with probe (ere night) his tormenting paine was so well asswaged that he eate of the fish to his supper, which gaue no lesse ioy and content to vs then ease to himselfe; for which we called the Island *Stingray* Isle after the name of the fish.

Hauing neither Chirurgian, nor Chirurgery, but that preseruatiue oyle we presently set sayles for *Iames* towne, passing the mouthes of the riuers of *Payankatank* and *Pamaunkee*, the next day we safely arriued at *Kecougtan*. The simple Salvages seeing our Captaine hurt, and an other bloudy by breaking his shinne, our numbers of bowes, arrowes, swords, mantles, and furrs, would needes imagine we had

beene at warres (the truth of these accidents would not satisfie them) but impatiently importuned vs to know with whom. Finding their aptnesse to beleeue we fayled not (as a great secret) to tell them any thing that might affright them, what spoyle we had got and made of the *Massawomeks*. This rumor went faster vp the river then our Barge, that arrived at *Waraskoyack* the 20 of Iuly; where trimming her with painted streamers, and such devises as we could, we made them at *Iames* towne iealous of a Spanish Frigot, where we all God be thanked safely arrived the 21 of Iuly. There we found the last Supply were all sicke, the rest some lame, some bruised, all vnable to doe any thing but complaine of the pride and vnreasonable needlesse crueltie of the silly President, that had riotously consumed the store: and to fulfill his follies about building him an vnnecessary building for his pleasure in the woods, had brought them all to that misery; that had we not arrived, they had as strangely tormented him with revenge: but the good newes of our Discovery, and the good hope we had by the Salvages relation, that our Bay had stretched into the South Sea, or somewhat neare it, appeased their fury; but conditionally that *Ratliffe* should be deposed, and that Captaine *Smith* would take vpon him the government, as by course it did belong. Their request being effected, he substituted Mr. *Scrivener* his deare friend in the Presidency, equally distributing those private provisions the other had ingrossed, appointing more honest officers to assist master *Scrivener* (who then lay exceeding sicke of a Callenture) and in regard of the company, and heate of the yeare, they being vnable to worke, he left them to liue at ease, to recover their healths, but imbarked himselfe to finish his Discovery.

Written by *Walter Russell*, *Anas Todkill*, and *Thomas Momford*.

CHAP. VI.

The Government surrendered to Master Scrivener.

What happened the second Voyage in discovering the Bay.

The 24 of Iuly, Captaine *Smith* set forward to finish the discovery with twelue men: their names were

Nathaniell Powell.
Thomas Momford.
Richard Fetherston.
Michell Sicklemore.
Iames Bourne.
Anthony Bagnall, *Chir.*
Gentlemen.

Ionas Profit.
Anas Todkill.
Edward Pising.
Richard Keale.
Iames Watkins.
William Ward.
Souldiers.

The wind being contrary caused our stay two or three dayes at *Kecoughtan*: the King feasted vs with much mirth, his people were perswaded we went purposely to be revenged of the *Massawomeks*. In the evening we fired a few rackets. which flying in the ayre so terrified the poore Salvages, they supposed nothing vnpossible we attempted; and desired to assist vs. The first night we anchored at *Stingray* Isle. The next day crossed *Patawomeks* river, and hasted to the river *Bolus*. We went not much further before we might see the Bay to divide in two heads, and arriving there we found it divided in foure, all which we searched so farre as we could sayle them. Two of them we found inhabited, but in crossing the Bay, we incountred 7 or 8 Canowes full of *Massawomeks*, we seeing them prepare to assault vs, left our Oares and made way with our sayle to incounter them, yet were we but fiue with our Captaine that could stand, for within 2 dayes after we left *Kecoughtan*, the rest (being all of the last supply) were sicke almost to death, vntill they were seasoned to the Country. Having shut them vnder our Tarpawling, we put their hats vpon stickes by the Barges side, and betwixt two hats a man with two peeces, to make vs seeme many, and so we thinke the *Indians* supposed those hats to be men, for they fled with all possible speed to the shore, and there stayed, staring at the sayling of our barge till we anchored right against them. Long it was ere we could draw them to come vnto vs. At last they sent two of their company vnarmed in a Canow, the rest all followed to second them if

neede required. These two being but each presented with a bell, brought aboord all their fellowes, presenting our Captaine with venison, beares flesh, fish, bowes, arrowes, clubs, targets, and beares-skinnes. We vnderstood them nothing at all, but by signes, whereby they signified vnto vs they had beene at warres with the *Tockwoghes*, the which they confirmed by shewing vs their greene wounds, but the night parting vs, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meete, but after that we never saw them.

Entring the river of *Tockwogh*, the Salvages all armed, in a fleete of boats, after their barbarous manner, round invironed vs; so it chanced one of them could speake the language of *Powhatan*, who perswaded the rest to a friendly parley. But when they saw vs furnished with the *Massawomeks* weapons, and we faining the invention of *Kecoughtan*, to haue taken them perforce; they conducted vs to their pallizadoed towne, mantelled with the barkes of trees, with scaffolds like mounts, brested about with brests very formally. Their men, women, and children with daunces, songs, fruits, furres, and what they had, kindly welcommed vs, spreading mats for vs to sit on, stretching their best abilities to expresse their loues.

Many hatchets, kniues, peeces of iron, and brasse, we saw amongst them, which they reported to haue from the *Sasquesahanocks*, a mightie people and mortall enemies with the *Massawomeks*. The *Sasquesahanocks* inhabit vpon the chiefe Spring of these foure branches of the Bayes head, two dayes iourney higher then our barge could passe for rocks, yet we prevailed with the Interpreter to take with him another Interpreter, to perswade the *Sasquesahanocks* to come visit vs, for their language are different. Three or foure dayes we expected their returne, then sixtie of those gyant-like people came downe, with presents of Venison, Tobacco-pipes three foot in length, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes. Fiue of their chiefe *Werowances* came boldly aboord vs to crosse the Bay for *Tockwhogh*, leaving their men and Canowes; the wind being so high they durst not passe.

Our order was daily to haue Prayer, with a Psalme, at which solemnitie the poore Salvages much wondred, our Prayers being done, a while they were busied with a consulation till they had contrived their businesse. Then they began in a most passionate manner to hold vp their hands

to the Sunne, with a most fearefull song, then imbracing our Captaine, they began to adore him in like manner: though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded till their song was finished: which done with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voyce, began an Oration of their loues; that ended, with a great painted Beares skin they covered him: then one ready with a great chayne of white Beads, weighing at least six or seaven pound, hung it about his necke, the others had 18 mantels, made of divers sorts of skinnes sowed together; all these with many other toyes they layd at his feete, stroking their ceremonious hands about his necke for his Creation to be their Governour and Protector. promising their aydes, victualls, or what they had to be his, if he he would stay with them, to defend and revenge them of the *Massawomeks.*—But we left them at *Tockwhogh,* sorrowing for our departure, yet we promised the next yeare againe to visit them. Many descriptions and discourses they made vs, of *Atquanachuck, Massawomek,* and other people, signifying they inhabit vpon a great water beyond the mountaines, which we vnderstood to be some great lake, or the river of *Canada:* and from the French to haue their hatchets and Commodities by trade.—These know no more of the territories of *Powhatan,* then his name, and he as little of them, but the *Atquanachuks* are on the Ocean Sea.

The highest mountaine we saw Northward we called *Perigrines* mount, and a rocky river, where the *Massawomeks* went vp, *Willowbyes* river, in honor of the towne our Captaine was borne in, and that honorable house the Lord *Willowby,* his most honored good friend. The *Susquesahanocks* river we called *Smiths* falles; the next poynt to *Tockwhogh, Pisings* poynt; the next it poynt *Bourne. Powells* Isles and *Smals* poynt is by the river *Bolus;* and the little Bay at the head *Profits* poole; *Watkins, Reads,* and *Momfords* poynts are on each side *Limbo; Ward, Cantrell,* and *Sicklemore,* betwixt *Patawomek* and *Pamavnkee,* after the names of the discoverers. In all those places and the furthest we came vp the rivers, we cut in trees so many crosses as we would, and in many places made holes in trees, wherein we writ notes, and in some places crosses of brasse, to signifie to any, Englishmen had beene there.

Thus having sought all the inlets and rivers worth noting, we returned to discover the river of *Pawtuxunt;* these people

we found very tractable, and more civill then any, we promised them, as also the *Patawomeks* to revenge them of the *Massawomeks*, but our purposes were crossed.

In the discovery of this river some call *Rapahanock*, we were kindly entertained by the people of *Moraughtacund*; here we incountered our old friend *Mosco*, a lusty Salvage of *Wighcocomoco* vpon the river of *Patawomek*, we supposed him some *French* mans sonne, because he had a thicke blacke bush beard, and the Salvages seldome haue any at all, of which he was not a little proud, to see so many of his Countrymen. Wood and water he would fetch vs, guide vs any whether, nay, cause divers of his countrymen helpe vs towe against winde or tyde from place to place till we came to *Patawomek*: there he rested till we returned from the head of the river, and occasioned our conduct to the mine we supposed *Antimony*. And in the place he fayled not to doe vs all the good he could, perswading vs in any case not to goe to the *Rapahanocks*, for they would kill vs for being friends with the *Moraughtacunds* that but lately had stolne three of the Kings women. This we did thinke was but that his friends might onely haue our trade: so we crossed the river to the *Rapahanocks*. There some 12 or 16 standing on the shore, directed vs a little Creeke where was good landing, and Commodities for vs in three or foure Canowes we saw lie there: but according to our custome, we demanded to exchange a man in signe of loue, which after they had a little consulted, foure or fiue came vp to the middles, to fetch our man, and leaue vs one of them, shewing we neede not feare them, for they had neither clubs, bowes, nor arrowes. Notwithstanding, *Anas Todkill*, being sent on shore to see if he could discover any Ambuscadoes, or what they had, desired to goe over the playne to fetch some wood, but they were vnwilling, except we would come into the Creeke, where the boat might come close ashore. *Todkill* by degrees having got some two stones throwes vp the playne, perceived two or three hundred men (as he thought) behind the trees: so that offering to returne to the Boat, the Salvages assayed to carry him away perforce, that he called to vs we were betrayed, and by that he had spoke the word, our hostage was over-boord, but *Watkins* his keeper slew him in the water. Immediatly we let fly an ongst them, so that they fled, and *Todkill* escaped, yet they shot so fast that he fell flat on the ground

ere he could recover the boat. Here the *Massawomek* Targets stood vs in good stead, for vpon *Mosco's* words, we had set them about the forepart of our Boat like a forecastle, from whence we securely beat the Salvages from off the plaine without any hurt: yet they shot more then a thousand Arrowes, and then fled into the woods. Arming our selues with these light Targets (which are made of little small sticks woven betwixt strings of their hempe and silke grasse, as is our Cloth, but so firmely that no arrow can possibly pierce them:) we rescued *Todkill*, who was all bloudy by some of them who were shot by vs that held him, but as God pleased he had no hurt; and following them vp to the woods, we found some slaine, and in divers places much bloud. It seems all their arrowes were spent, for we heard no more of them. Their Canows we tooke: the arrowes we found we broke, saue them we kept for *Mosco*, to whom we gaue the Canowes for his kindnesse, that entertained vs in the best trivmphing manner, and warlike order in armes of conquest he could procure of the *Moraughtacunds*.

The rest of the day we spent in accommodating our Boat, in stead of thoules wee made stickes like Bedstaues, to which we fastened so many of our *Massawomek* Targets, that invironed her as wast clothes. The next morning we went vp the river, and our friend *Mosco* followed vs along the shore, and at last desired to goe with vs in our Boat. But as we passed by *Pisacack*, *Matchopeak*, and *Mecuppom*, three Townes situated vpon high white clay clifts; the other side all a low playne marish, and the river there but narrow.—Thirtie or fortie of the *Rapahanocks*, had so accommodated themselues with branches, as we tooke them for little bushes growing among the sedge, still seeing their arrowes strike the Targets, and dropped in the river: whereat *Mosco* fell flat in the Boat on his face, crying the *Rapahanocks*, which presently we espied to be the bushes, which at our first volley fell downe in the sedge: when wee were neare halfe a myle from them, they shewed themselues dauncing and singing very merrily.

The Kings of *Pissassack*, *Nandtaughtacund*, and *Cuttatawomen*, vsed vs kindly, and all their people neglected not any thing to Mosco to bring vs to them. Betwixt *Secobeck* and *Massawteck* is a small Isle or two, which causeth the river to be broader then ordinary: there it pleased God to take

one of our Company called Mr *Fetherstone*, that all the time he had beene in this Country, had behaved himselfe honestly, valiantly, and industriously, where in a little Bay we called *Fetherstones* Bay wee buryed him with a volley of shot: the rest notwithstanding their ill dyet, and bad lodging, crowded in so small a Barge, in so many dangers never resting, but alwayes tossed to and againe, had all well recovered their healths. The next day wee sayled so high as our Boat would float, there setting vp crosses, and graving our names in the trees. Our Sentinell saw an arrow fall by him, though we had ranged vp and downe more then an houre in digging in the earth, looking of stones, herbs, and springs, not seeing where a Salvage could well hide himselfe.

Vpon the alarum by that we had discovered our armes, there was about an hundred nimble *Indians* skipping from tree to tree, letting fly their arrowes so fast as they could: the trees here served vs for Baricadoes as well as they. But *Mosco* did vs more service then we expected, for having shot away his quiver of Arrowes, he ran to the Boat for more.—The Arrowes of *Mosco* at the first made them pause vpon the matter, thinking by his bruit and skipping, there were many Salvages. About halfe an houre this continued, then they all vanished as suddenly as they approached *Mosco* followed them so farre as he could see vs, till they were out of sight. As we returned there lay a Salvage as dead, shot in the knee, but taking him vp we found he had life, which *Mosco* seeing, never was Dog more furious against a Beare, then *Mosco* was to haue beat out his braines, so we had him to our Boat, where our Chirurgian who went with vs to cure our Captaines hurt of the *Stingray*, so dressed this Salvage that within an houre after he looked somewhat chearefully, and did eate and speake. In the meane time we contented *Mosco* in helping him to gather vp their arrowes, which were an armefull, whereof he gloried not a little. Then we desired *Mosco* to know what he was, and what Countries were beyond the mountaines; the poore Salvage mildly answered, he and all with him were of *Hasinninga*, where there are three Kings more, like vnto them, namely the King of *Stegora*, the King of *Tauxuatania*, and the King of *Shakahonea*, that were come to *Mohaskahod*, which is onely a hunting Towne, and the bounds betwixt the Kingdome of the *Mannahocks*, and the *Nandtaughtacunds*, but hard by

where we were. We demanded why they came in that manner to betray vs, that came to them in peace, and to seeke their loues; he answered, they heard we were a people come from vnder the world, to take their world from them. We asked him how many worlds he did know, he replyed, he knew no more but that which was vnder the skie that covered him, which were the *Powhatans*, with the *Monacans* and the *Massawomeks*, that were higher vp in the mountaines. Then we asked him what was beyond the mountaines, he answered the Sunne: but of any thing els he knew nothing; because the woods were not burnt. These and many such questions wee demanded, concerning the *Massawomeks*, the *Monacans*, their owne Country, and where were the Kings of *Stegora*, *Tauxsintania*, and the rest. The *Monacans* he sayd were their neighbours and friends, and did dwell as they in the hilly Countries by small rivers, liuing vpon rootes and fruits, but chiefly by hunting. The *Massawomeks* did dwell vpon a great water, and had many boats, and so many men that they made warre with all the world. For their Kings, they were gone every one a severall way with their men on hunting: But those with him came thither a fishing till they saw vs, notwithstanding they would be altogether at night at *Mahaskahod*. For this relation we gaue him many toyes, with perswasions to goe with vs, and he as earnestly desired vs to stay the comming of those Kings that for his good vsage should be friends with vs, for he was brother to *Hasinninga*. But *Mosco* advised vs presently to begone, for they were all naught, yet we told him we would not till it was night. All things we made ready to entertain what came, and *Mosco* was as diligent in trimming his arrowes. The night being come we all imbarked, for the riuer was so narrow, had it beene light the land on the one one side was so high, they might haue done vs exceeding much mischiefe. All this while the K. of *Hasinninga* was seeking the rest, and had consultation a good time what to doe. But by their espies seeing we were gone, it was not long before we heard their arrowes dropping on every side the Boat; we caused our Salvages to call vnto them, but such a yelling and hallowing they made that they heard nothing, but now and then a peece, ayming so neare as we could where we heard the most voyces. More then 12 myles they followed vs in this manner: then the day appearing, we

found our selues in a broad Bay, out of danger of their shot, where wee came to an anchor, and fell to breakfast. Not so much as speaking to them till the Sunne was risen; being well refreshed, we vntyed our Targets that couered vs as a Deck, and all shewed our selues with those shields on our armes, and swords in our hands, and also our prisoner *Amoroleck;* a long discourse there was betwixt his Countrimen and him, how good wee were, how well wee vsed him, how wee had a *Patawomek* with vs, loued us as his life, that would haue slaine him had we not preserued him, and that he should haue his libertie would they be but friends; and to doe vs any hurt it was impossible. Vpon this they all hung their Bowes and Quivers vpon the trees, and one came swimming aboord vs with a Bow tyed on his head, and another with a Quiver of Arrowes, which they deliuered our Captaine as a present, the Captaine hauing vsed them so kindly as he could, told them the other three Kings should doe the like, and then the great King of our world should be their friend, whose men we were. It was no sooner demanded but performed, so vpon a low Moorish poynt of Land we went to the shore, where those foure Kings came and receiued *Amoroleck:* nothing they had but Bowes, Arrowes, Tobacco-bags, and Pipes: what we desired, none refused to giue vs, wondering at every thing we had, and heard we had done: our Pistols they tooke for pipes, which they much desired, but we did content them with other Commodities, and so we left foure or fiue hundred of our merry *Mannahocks,* singing, dauncing, and making merry, and set sayle for *Moraughtacund.*

In our returnes we visited all our friends, that reioyced much at our Victory against the *Manahocks,* who many times had Warres also with them, but now they were friends, and desired we would be friends with the *Rapahanocks,* as we were with the *Mannahocks.* Our Captaine told them, they had twise assaulted him that came onely in loue to doe them good, and therefore he would now burne all their houses, destroy their corne, and forever hold them his enemies, till they made him satisfaction; they desired to know what that should be: he told them they should present him the Kings Bow and Arrowes, and not offer to come armed where he was; that they should be friends with the *Moraughtacunds* his friends, and giue him their Kings sonne in pledge to performe

it, and then all King *Iames* his men should be their friends. Vpon this they presently sent to the *Rapahanocks* to meete him at the place where they first fought, where would be the Kings of *Nantautacund* and *Pissassac:* which according to their promise were there so soone as we; where *Rapahanock* presented his Bow and Arrowes, and confirmed all we desired, except his sonne, having no more but him he could not live without him, but in stead of his sonne he would giue him the three women *Moraughtacund* had stolne. This was accepted: and so in three or foure Canowes, so many as could went with vs to *Moraughtacund*, where *Mosco* made them such relations, and gaue to his friends so many Bowes and Arrowes, that they no lesse loued him then admired vs. The 3 women were brought our Captaine, to each he gaue a chayne of Beads: and then causing *Moraughtacund*, *Mosco*, and *Rapahanock* stand before him, bid *Rapahanock* take her he loued best, and *Moraughtacund* chuse next, and to *Mosco* he gave the third. Vpon this away went their Canowes over the water, to fetch their venison, and all the provision they could, and they that wanted Boats swam over the river: the darke commanded vs then to rest. The next day there was of men, women, and children, as we coniectured, six or seauen hundred, dauncing, and singing, and not a Bow nor Arrow seene amongst them.—*Mosco* changed his name *Vttasantasough*, which we interpret *Stranger*, for so they call vs. All promising ever to be our friends, and to plant Corne purposely for vs; and we to provide hatchets, beads, and copper for them, we departed, giuing them a Volley of shot, and they vs as loud shouts and cryes as their strengths could vtter. That night we anchored in the river of *Payankatank*, and discovered it so high as it was navigable, but the people were most a hunting, saue a few old men, women, and children, that were tending their corne, of which they promised vs part when we would fetch it, as had done all the Nations where ever we had yet beene.

In a fayre calme, rowing towards poynt *Comfort*, we anchored in *Gosnolls* Bay, but such a suddaine gust surprised vs in the night with thunder and rayne, that we never thought more to haue seene *Iames* Towne. Yet running before the wind, we sometimes saw the Land by the flashes of fire from heaven, by which light onely we kept from the splitting shore, vntill it pleased God in that blacke darkness to preserue vs by that light to finde poynt *Comfort:* there refreshing our

selues, because we had onely but heard of the *Chisapeacks* and *Nandsamunds*, we thought it as fit to know all our neighbours neare home, as so many Nations abroad.

So setting sayle for the Southerne shore, we sayled vp a narrow riuer vp the country of *Chisapeack;* it hath a good channell, but many shoules about the entrance. By that we had sayled six or seaven myles, we saw two or three little garden plots with their houses, the shores overgrowne with the greatest Pyne and Firre trees we ever saw in the Country. But not seeing nor hearing any people, and the riuer very narrow, we returned to the great riuer, to see if we could finde any of them. Coasting the shore towards *Nandsamund*, which is most Oyster-bankes; at the mouth of that riuer, we espied six or seauen Salvages making their wires, who presently fled: ashore we went, and where they wrought we threw diuers toyes, and so departed. Farre we were not gone ere they came againe, and began to sing, and daunce, and recall vs: and thus we began our first acquaintance. At last one of them desired vs to goe to his house vp that riuer, into our Boat voluntarily he came, the rest ran after vs by the shore with all shew of loue that could be. Seauen or eight myles we sayled vp this narrow riuer: at last on the Westerne shore we saw large Cornefields, in the midst a little Isle, and in it was abundance of Corne; the people he told vs were all a hunting, but in the Isle was his house, to which he inuited vs with much kindnesse: to him, his wife, and children, we gaue such things as they seeme much contented them. The others being come, desired vs also to goe but a little higher to see their houses: here our host left vs, the rest rowed by vs in a Canow, till we were so far past the Isle the riuer became very narrow. Here we desired some of them to come abord vs, whereat pausing a little, they told vs they would but fetch their bowes and arrowes and goe all with vs, but being a shore and thus armed, they perswaded vs to goe forward, but we could neither perswade them into their Canow nor into our Boat. This gaue vs cause to prouide for the worst. Farre we went not ere seauen or eight Canowes full of men armed appeared following vs, staying to see the conclusion. Presently from each side the riuer came arrowes so fast as two or three hundred could shoot them, whereat we returned to get the open. They in the Canowes let fly also as fast, but amongst them we bestowed so many shot,

the most of them leaped overboord and swam ashore, but two or three escaped by rowing, being against their playnes: our Muskets they found shot further then their Bowes, for wee made not twenty shot ere they all retyred behind the next trees. Being thus got out of their trap, we seised on all their Canowes, and moored them in the midst of the open. More then an hundred arrowes stucke in our Targets, and about the boat, yet none hurt, onely *Anthony Bagnall* was shot in his Hat, and another in his sleeue. But seeing their multitudes, and suspecting as it was, that both the *Nandsamunds* and the *Chisapeacks* were together, we thought it best to ryde by their Canowes a while, to bethinke if it were better to burne all in the Isle, or draw them to composition, till we were prouided to take all they had, which was sufficient to feed all our *Colony:* but to burne the Isle at night it was concluded. In the interim we began to cut in peeces their Canowes, and they presently to lay downe their bowes, making signes of peace: peace we told them we would accept it, would they bring vs their Kings bowes and arrowes, with a chayne of pearle; and when we came againe giue vs foure hundred baskets of full Corne, otherwise we would breake all their boats, and burne their houses, and corne, and all they had. To performe all this they alledged onely the want of a Canow; so we put one a drift and bad them swim to fetch her: and till they performed their promise, wee would but onely breake their Canowes. They cryed to us to doe no more, all should be as we would: which presently they performed, away went their bowes and arrowes, and tagge and ragge came with their baskets: so much as we could carry we tooke, and so departing good friends, we returned to *Iames* Towne, where we safely arrived the 7. of September, 1608. There we found Mr. *Scrivener*, and divers others well recovered; many dead: some sicke: the late President prisoner for mutiny: by the honest diligence of Master *Scrivener*, the haruest gathered, but the provision in the store much spoyled with rayne. Thus was that summer (when little wanted) consumed and spent, and nothing done (such was the gouernment of Captaine *Ratliffe*) but onely this discovery; wherein to expresse all the dangers, accidents, and incounters this small number passed in that small Barge, by the scale of proportion, about three thousand myles, with such watery dyet in those great waters and barbarous Countries (till then

to any Christian vtterly vnknowne) I rather referre their merit to the censure of the courteous and experienced Reader, then I would be tedious or partiall being a partie.

But to this place to come who will adventure,
With iudgements guide and reason how to enter:
Finds in this worlds broad sea, with winde and tyde,
Ther's safer sayle then any where beside.
But 'cause to wanton novices it is
A Province full of fearefulnesse I wiss;
Into the great vast deepe to venter out:
Those shallow rivers let them coast about.
And by a small Boat learne there first, and marke;
How they may come to make a greater Barke.

Written by *Anthony Bagnall*, *Nathanaell Powell*, and *Anas Todkill.*

CHAP. VII.

The Presidency surrendred to Captaine Smith: *the Arrivall and returne of the second supply. And what happened.*

The tenth of September, by the Election of the Councell, and request of the Company, Captaine *Smith* receiued the Letters Patents: which till then by no meanes he would accept, though he was often importuned therevnto. Now the building of *Ratliffes* Pallace stayed as a thing needlesse; the Church was repaired; the Store-house recouered; buildings prepared for the Supplyes, we expected; the Fort reduced to a fiue-square forme; the order of the Watch renewed; the squadrons (each setting of the Watch) trained; the whole Company euery Saturday exercised, in the plaine by the west Bulwarke, prepared for that purpose, we called *Smithfield:* where sometimes more than an hundred Salvages would stand in an amazement to behold. how a fyle would batter a tree, where he would make them a marke to shoot at; the boats trimmed for trade, which being sent out with Lieutenant *Percy*, in their Iourney incountred the second Supply, that brought them backe to discover the Country of *Monacan.* How or why Captaine *Newport* obtained such private Commission, as not to returne without a lumpe of gold, a certaintie of the South sea, or one of the lost company sent

out by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, I know not; nor why he brought such a fiue peeced Barge, not to beare vs to that South sea, till we had borne her over the mountaines, which how farre they extend is yet vnknowne. As for the Coronation of *Powhatan*, and his presents of Bason and Ewer, Bed, Bedstead, Clothes, and such costly nouelties, they had beene much better well spared then so ill spent, for wee had his favour much better onely for a playne peece of Copper, till this stately kinde of soliciting, made him so much overvalue himselfe, that he respected vs as much as nothing at all. As for the hyring of the *Poles* and *Dutch*-men, to make Pitch, Tar, Glasse, Milles, and Sope ashes, when the Country is replenished with people, and necessaries, would haue done well, but to send them and seauentie more without victualls to worke, was not so well aduised nor considered of, as it should haue beene. Yet this could not haue hurt vs had they beene 200. though then we were 130 that wanted for our selues. For we had the Salvages in that *decorum* (their harvest being newly gathered,) that we feared not to get victuals for 500. Now was there no way to make vs miserable, but to neglect that time to make prouision whilst it was to be had. the which was done by the direction from *England* to performe this strange discovery, but a more strange Coronation to loose that time, spend that victualls we had, tyre and starue our men, hauing no meanes to carry victuals, munition, the hurt or sicke, but on their owne backes. How or by whom they were inuented I know not: but Captaine *Newport* we onely accounted the Author, who to effect these proiects, had so guilded mens hopes with great promises, that both Company and Councell concluded his resolution for the most part: God doth know they little knew what they did, nor vnderstood their owne estates to conclude his conclusions, against all the inconveniences the foreseeing President alledged.— Of this Supply there was added to the Councell, one Captaine *Richard Waldo* and Captaine *Wynne*, two ancient Souldiers, and valiant Gentlemen, but yet ignorant of the busines, (being but newly arriued.) *Ratliffe* was also permitted to haue his voyce, and Mr. *Scrivener*, desirous to see strange Countries: so that although *Smith* was President, yet the Maior part of the Councell had the authoritie and ruled it as they listed. As for clearing *Smiths* obiections, how Pitch and Tarre, Wainscot, Clapbord, Glasse, and Sope ashes,

could be provided, to relade the ship, or provision got to liue withall, when none was in the Country, and that we had, spent, before the ship departed to effect these projects. The answer was, Captaine *Newport* vndertooke to fraught the Pinnace of twentie tunnes with Corne in going and returning in his Discovery, and to refraught her againe from *Werowocomoco* of *Powhatan*. Also promising a great proportion of victualls from the Ship; inferring that *Smiths* propositions were onely devices to hinder his iourney, to effect it himselfe; and that the crueltie he had vsed to the Salvages, might well be the occasion to hinder these Designes, and seeke revenge on him. For which taxation all workes were left, and 120 chosen men were appointed for *Newports* guard in this Discovery. But Captaine *Smith* to make cleare all those seeming suspicions, that the Salvages were not so desperate as was pretended by Captaine *Newport*, and how willing (since by their authoritie they would haue it so) he was to assist them what he could, because the Coronation would consume much time, he vndertooke himselfe their message to *Powhatan*, to intreat him to come to *Iames* Towne to receiue his presents. And where *Newport* durst not goe with less then 120. he onely tooke with him Captaine *Waldo*, Mr. *Andrew Buckler*, *Edward Brinton*, and *Samuel Collier:* with these foure he went over land to *Werowocomoco*, some 12 myles; there he passed the river of *Pamavnkee* in a Salvage Canow. *Powhatan* being 30 myles of, was presently sent for: in the meane time *Pocahontas* and her women entertained Captaine *Smith* in this manner.

In a fayre plaine field they made a fire, before which, he sitting vpon a mat, suddainly amongst the woods was heard such a hydeous noise and shreeking, that the English betooke themselues to their armes, and seized on two or three old men by them supposing *Powhatan* with all his power was come to surprise them. But presently *Pocahontas* came, willing him to kill her if any hurt were intended, and the beholders, which were men, women, and children, satisfied the Captaine there was no such matter. Then presently they were presented with this anticke; thirtie young women came naked out of the woods, onely covered behind and before with a few greene leaues, their bodies all painted, some of one colour, some of another, but all differing, their leader had a fayre payre of Bucks hornes on her head, and an Otters skinne at her girdle,

and another at her arme, a quiver of arrowes at her backe, a bow and arrowes in her hand; the next had in her hand a sword, another a club, another a pot-sticke; all horned alike: the rest every one with their severall devises. These fiends with most hellish shouts and cryes, rushing from among the trees, cast themselues in a ring about the fire, singing and dauncing with most excellent ill varietie, oft falling into their infernall passions, and solemnly againe to sing and daunce; having spent neare an houre in this Mascarado, as they entred in like manner they departed.

Having reaccommodated themselues, they solemnly invited him to their lodgings, where he was no sooner within the house, but all these Nymphs more tormented him then ever, with crowding, pressing, and hanging about him, most tediously crying. Loue you not me? loue you not me? This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of all the Salvage dainties they could devise: some attending, others singing and dauncing about them; which mirth being ended with firebrands in stead of Torches they conducted him to his lodging.

Thus did they shew their feats of armes, and others art in dauncing:
Some other vs'd there oaten pipe; and others voyces chanting.

The next day came *Powhatan: Smith* delivered his message of the presents sent him, and delivered him *Namontack* he had sent for *England*, desiring him to come to his Father *Newport*, to accept these presents, and conclude their revenge against the *Monacans*. Wherevnto this subtile Savage thus replyed.

If your King haue sent me Presents, I also am a King, and this is my land: eight dayes I will stay to receiue them. Your Father is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your Fort, neither will I bite at such a bait: as for the Monacans *I can revenge my owne iniuries, and as for* Atquanachuk, *where you say your brother was slaine, it is a contrary way from those parts you suppose it; but for any salt water beyond the mountaines, the Relations you haue had from my people are false.* Wherevpon he began to draw plots vpon the ground (according to his discourse) of all those Regions.—Many other discourses they had (yet both content to giue each other content in complementall Courtesies) and so Captaine *Smith* returned with this answer.

Vpon this the Presents were sent by water which is neare an hundred myles, and the Captains went by land with fiftie good shot. All being met a *Werowocomoco*, the next day was appointed for his Coronation, then the presents were brought him. his Bason and Ewer, Bed and furniture set vp, his scarlet Cloke and apparell with much adoe put on him, being perswaded by *Namontack* they would not hurt him: but a foule trouble there was to make him kneele to receiue his Crowne, he neither knowing the maiesty nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, endured so many perswasions, examples, and instructions, as tyred them all; at last by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped. and three having the crowne in their hands put it on his head, when by the warning of a Pistoll the Boats were prepared with such a volley of shot, that the King start vp in a horrible feare, till he saw all was well. Then remembering himselfe to congratulate their kindnesse, he gaue his old shooes and his mantell to Captaine *Newport:* but perceiving his purpose was to discover the *Monacans*, he laboured to divert his resolution, refusing to lend him either men or guides more then *Namontack;* and so after some small complementall kindnesse on both sides, in requitall of his presents he presented *Newport* with a heape of wheat eares that might containe some 7 or 8 Bushels, and as much more we bought in the Towne, wherewith we returned to the Fort.

The Ship having disburdened her selfe of 70 persons, with the first Gentlewoman and woman-seruant that arrived in our *Colony*, Captaine *Newport* with 120 chosen men, led by Captaine *Waldo*. Lieutenant *Percie*, Captaine *Winne*, Mr *West*, and Mr *Scrivener*, set forward for the discovery of *Monacan*, leaving the President at the Fort with about 80. or 90. (such as they were) to relade the Ship. Arriving at the Falles we marched by land some fortie myles in two dayes and a halfe, and so returned downe the same path we went. Two townes we discovered of the *Monacans*, called *Massinacak* and *Mouhemenchouch*, the people neither vsed vs well nor ill, yet for our securitie we tooke one of their petty Kings, and led him bound to conduct vs the way. And in our returnes searched many places we supposed Mines, about which we spent some time in refyning, having one *William Callicut*, a refiner fitted for that purpose. From that crust of earth we digged, he perswaded vs to beleeue he extracted

some small quantitie of silver; and (not vnlikely) better stuffe might be had for the digging. With this poore tryall, being contented to leaue this fayre, fertile, well watered Country; and comming to the Falles, the Salvages fayned there were divers ships come into the Bay, to kill them at *Iames* Towne. Trade they would not, and finde their Corne we could not; for they had hid it in the woods: and being thus deluded, we arrived at *Iames* Towne, halfe sicke, all complaining, and tyred with toyle, famine, and discontent, to haue onely but discovered our guilded hopes, and such fruitlesse certainties, as Captaine *Smith* foretold vs.

But those that hunger seeke to slake,
Which thus abounding wealth would rake:
Not all the gemmes of *Ister* shore,
Nor all the gold of *Lydia's* store,
Can fill their greedie appetite;
It is a thing so infinite.

No sooner were we landed, but the President dispersed so many as were able, some for Glasse, others for Tarre, Pitch, and Sope-ashes, leauing them with the Fort to the Councels oversight, but 30 of vs he conducted dowe the river some 5 myles from *Iames* towne, to learne to make Clapbord, cut downe trees, and lye in woods. Amongst the rest he had chosen *Gabriel Beadle*, and *Iohn Russell*, the onely two gallants of this last Supply, and both proper Gentlemen. Strange were these pleasures to their conditions; yet lodging, eating, and drinking, working or playing, they but doing as the President did himselfe. All these things were carried so pleasantly as within a weeke they became Masters: making it their delight to heare the trees thunder as they fell; but the Axes so oft blistered their tender fingers, that many times every third blow had a loud othe to drowne the echo; for remedie of which sinne, the President devised how to haue every mans othes numbred, and at night for every othe to haue a Cann of water powred downe his sleeue, with which every offender was so washed (himselfe and all) that a man should scarce heare an othe in a weeke.

For he who scornes and makes but iests of cursings, and his othe,
He doth contemne, not man but God, nor God, nor man, but both

By this, let no man thinke that the President and these Gentlemen spent their times as common Wood-haggers at felling of trees, or such other like labours, or that they

were pressed to it as hirelings, or common slaues; for what they did, after they were but once a little invred, it seemed and some conceited it, onely as a pleasure and recreation, yet 30 or 40 of such voluntary Gentlemen would doe more in a day then 100 of the rest that must be prest to it by compulsion, but twentie good workmen had beene better then them all.

Master *Scrivener*, Captaine *Waldo*, and Captaine *Winne* at the Fort, every one in like manner carefully regarded their charge. The President returning from amongst the woods, seeing the time consumed and no provision gotten, (and the Ship lay idle at a great charge and did nothing) presently imbarked himselfe in the discovery barge, giving order to the Councell to send Lieutenant *Percie* after him with the next barge that arrived at the Fort; two Barges he had himselfe and 18 men, but arriving at *Chickahamania*, that dogged Nation was too well acquainted with our wants, refusing to trade, with as much scorne and insolency as they could expresse. The President perceiuing it was *Powhatans* policy to starue vs, told them he came not so much for their Corne, as to revenge his imprisonment, and the death of his men murthered by them, and so landing his men and ready to charge them, they immediately fled: and presently after sent their Ambassadors with corne, fish, foule, and what they had to make their peace, (their Corne being that yeare but bad) they complained extreamely of their owne wants, yet fraughted our Boats with an hundred Bushels of Corne, and in like manner Lieutenant *Percies*, that not long after arrived, and having done the best they could to content vs, we parted good friends, and returned to *Iames* towne.

Though this much contented the Company, (that feared nothing more then starving) yet some so envied his good successe, that they rather desired to hazzard a starving, then his paines should proue so much more effectuall then theirs.—Some proiects there were invented by *Newport* and *Ratliffe*, not onely to haue deposed him, but to haue kept him out of the Fort; for that being President, he would leaue his place and the Fort without their consents, but their hornes were so much too short to effect it, as they themselues more narrowly escaped a greater mischiefe.

All this time our old Taverne made as much of all of them that had either money or ware as could be desired: by this

time they were become so perfect on all sides (I meane the souldiers, saylers, and Salvages) as there was tenne times more care to maintaine their damnable and private trade, then to provide for the *Colony* things that were necessary. Neither was it a small policy in *Newport* and the Marriners to report in *England* we had such plentie, and bring vs so many men without victuals, when they had so many private Factors in the Fort, that within six or seauen weeks, of two or three hundred Axes, Chissels, Hows, and Pick-axes, scarce twentie could be found: and for Pike-heads, shot, Powder, or any thing they could steale from their fellowes, was vendible; they knew as well (and as secretly) how to convey them to trade with the Salvages for Furres, Baskets, *Mussanecks*, young Beasts, or such like Commodities, as exchange them with the Saylers for Butter, Cheese, Beefe, Porke, *Aqua vitæ*, Beere, Bisket, Oatmeale, and Oyle: and then fayne all was sent them from their friends. And though *Virginia* affoorded no Furres for the Store, yet one Master in one voyage hath got so many by this indirect meanes, as he confessed to haue sold in *England* for 30l.

Those are the Saint-seeming Worthies of *Virginia*, that haue notwithstanding all this meate, drinke, and wages; but now they begin to grow weary, their trade being both perceived and prevented; none hath beene in *Virginia* that hath observed any thing, which knowes not this to be true, and yet the losse, the scorne, the misery, and shame, was the poore Officers, Gentlemen, and carelesse Governours, who were all thus bought and sold; the adventurers cousened, and the action overthrowne by their false excuses, informations, and directions. By this let all men judge, how this businesse could prosper, being thus abused by such pilfring occasions. And had not Captaine *Newport* cryed *Peccavi*, the President would haue discharged the ship, and caused him to haue stayed one yeare in *Virginia*, to learne to speake of his owne experience.

Master *Scrivener* was sent with the Barges and Pinnace to *Werowocomoco*, where he found the Salvages more readie to fight then trade: but his vigilancy was such as prevented their proiects, and by the meanes of *Namontack* got three or foure hogsheads of Corne, and as much *Pocones*, which is a red roote, which then was esteemed an excellent Dye.

Captaine *Newport* being dispatched, with the tryals of Pitch, Tarre, Glasse, Frankincense, Sope ashes; with that Clapboord and Waynscot that could be prouided; met with Mr. *Scrivener* at poynt *Comfort*, and so returned for *England*. We remaining were about two hundred.

The Copy of a Letter sent to the Treasurer and Councell of Virginia *from Captaine* Smith, *then President in* Virginia.

Right Honorable, &c.

I RECEIVED your Letter, wherein you write, that our minds are so set vpon faction, and idle conceits in diuiding the Country without your consents, and that we feed *You* but with ifs and ands, hopes, and some few proofes; as if we would keepe the mystery of the businesse to our selues: and that we must expressly follow your instructions sent by Captain *Newport*: the charge of whose voyage amounts to neare two thousand pounds, the which if we cannot defray by the Ships returne, we are alike to remain as banished men. To these particulars I humbly intreat your Pardons if I offend you with my rude Answer.

For our factions, vnlesse you would haue me run away and leaue the Country, I cannot prevent them: because I do make many stay that would els fly any whether. For the idle Letter sent to my Lord of *Salisbury*, by the President and his confederats, for diuiding the Country &c, What it was I know not, for you saw no hand of mine to it; nor euer dream't I of any such matter. That we feed you with hopes, &c. Though I be no scholer, I am past a schoole-boy; and I desire but to know, what either you, and these here doe know, but that I haue learned to tell you by the continuall hazard of my life. I haue not concealed from you any thing I know; but I feare some cause you to beleeue much more then is true.

Expressly to follow your directions by Captaine *Newport*, though they be performed, I was directly against it; but according to our Commission, I was content to be overruled by the maior part of the Councell, I feare to the hazard of vs all;

which now is generally confessed when it is too late. Onely Captaine *Winne* and Captaine *Waldo* I haue sworne of the Councell, and Crowned *Powhatan* according to your instructions.

For the charge of this Voyage of two or three thousand pounds, we haue not receiued the value of an hundred pounds. And for the quartred Boat to be borne by the Souldiers over the Falles, *Newport* had 120 of the best men he could chuse. If he had burnt her to ashes, one might haue carried her in a bag, but as she is, fiue hundred cannot, to a navigable place aboue the Falles. And for him at that time to find in the South Sea, a Mine of gold; or any of them sent by Sir *Walter Raleigh:* at our Consultation I told them was as likely as the rest. But during this great discovery of thirtie myles, (which might as well haue beene done by one man, and much more, for the value of a pound of Copper at a seasonable tyme) they had the Pinnace and all the Boats with them, but one that remained with me to serue the Fort. In their absence I followed the new begun workes of Pitch and Tarre, Glasse, Sopeashes, Clapboord, whereof some small quantities we haue sent you. But if you rightly consider, what an infinite toyle it is in *Russia* and *Swethland*, where the woods are proper for naught els, and though there be the helpe both of man and beast in those ancient Common-wealths, which many an hundred yeares haue vsed it, yet thousands of those poore people can scarce get necessaries to liue, but from hand to mouth. And though your Factors there can buy as much in a week as will fraught you a ship, or as much as you please; you must not expect from vs any such matter, which are but as many of ignorant miserable soules, that are scarce able to get wherewith to liue, and defend our selues against the inconstant *Salvages*: finding but here and there a tree fit for the purpose, and want all things els the *Russians* haue. For the Coronation of *Powhatan*, by whose advice you sent him such presents, I know not; but this giue me leaue to tell you, I feare they will be the confusion of vs all ere we heare from you againe. At your Ships arrivall, the *Salvages* harvest was newly gathered, and we going to buy it, our owne not being halfe sufficient for so great a number. As for the two ships loading of Corne *Newport* promised to provide vs from *Powhatan*, he brought vs but fourteene Bushels: and from the *Monacans* nothing, but the most of the men sicke

and neare famished. From your Ship we had not proviſiō in victuals worth twenty pound, and we are more then two hundred to liue vpon this: the one halfe sicke, the other little better. For the Saylers (I confesse) they daily make good cheare, but our dyet is a little meale and water, and not sufficient of that. Though there be fish in the Sea, foules in the ayre, and Beasts in the woods, their bounds are so large, they so wilde, and we so weake and ignorant, we cannot much trouble them. Captaine *Newport* we much suspect to be the Author of those inventions. Now that you should know, I haue made you as great a discovery as he, for lesse charge then he spendeth you every meale; I haue sent you this Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them, as you may see at large. Also two barrels of stones, and such as I take to be good Iron ore at the least: so divided, as by their notes you may see in what places I found them. The Souldiers say many of your officers maintaine their families out of that you sent vs: and that *Newport* hath an hundred pounds a yeare for carrying newes. For every master you haue yet sent can find the way as well as he, so that an hundred pounds might be spared, which is more then we haue all, that helps to pay him wages. Cap. *Ratliffe* is now called *Sicklemore*, a poore counterfeited Imposture. I haue sent you him home, least the company should cut his throat.—What he is, n w every one can tell you: if he and *Archer* returne againe, they are sufficient to keepe vs alwayes in factions. When you send againe I entreat you rather send but thirty Carpenters, husbandmen, gardiners, fisher men, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers vp of trees' roots, well provided, then a thousaud of such as we haue: for except wee be able both to lodge them, and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for any thing. Thus if you please to consider this account, and the vnnecessary wages to Captaine *Newport*, or his ships so long lingering and staying here (for notwithstanding his boasting to leaue vs victuals for 12 moneths, though we had 89 by this discovery lame and sicke, and but a pinte of Corne a day for a man, we were constrained to giue him three hogsheads of that to victuall him homeward) or yet to send into *Germany* or *Poleland* for glasse-men and the rest, till we be able to sustaine ourselues, and releeue

them when they come. It were better to giue fiue hundred pound a tun for those grosse Commodities in *Denmarke*, then send for them hither, till more necessary things be provided. For in over-toyling our weake and vnskilfull bodies, to satisfie this desire of present profit, we can scarce ever recover our selues from one Supply to another. And I humbly intreat you hereafter, let vs know what we should receive, and not stand to the Saylers courtesie to leaue vs what they please, els you may charge vs what you will, but we not you with any thing. These are the causes that haue kept vs in *Virginia*, from laying such a foundation, that ere this might haue given much better content and satisfaction; but as yet you must not looke for any profitable returnes: so I humbly rest.

The Names of those in this Supply, were these: with their Proceedings and Accidents.

Captaine Peter Winne,
Captaine Richard Waldo, } *were appoynted to be of the Councell:*
Master Francis VVest, *brother to the Lord* La VVarre.

Thomas Graues.
Raleigh Chroshaw.
Gabriel Beadle.
Iohn Beadle.
Iohn Russell.
William Russell.
Iohn Cuderington.
William Sambage.
Henry Leigh.
Henry Philpot.
Harmon Harrison.
Daniel Tucker.
Henry Collins.
Hugh Wolleston.
Iohn Hoult.
Thomas Norton.
George Yarington.
George Burton.
Thomas Abbay.
William Dowman.
Thomas Maxes.
Michael Lowick.
Master Hunt.
Thomas Forrest.
Iohn Dauxe.
} *Gentlemen.*

Thomas Phelps.
Iohn Prat
Iohn Clarke.
Ieffrey Shortridge.
Dionis Oconor.
Hugh Winne.
Dauid ap Hugh.
Thomas Bradley.
Iohn Burras.
Thomas Lavander.
Henry Bell.
Master Powell.
David Ellis.
Thomas Gibson.
} *Tradesmen.*

Thomas Dawse.
Thomas Mallard.
William Tayler.
Thomas Fox.
Nicholas Hancock.
Walker.
Williams.
Floud.
Morley.
Rose.
Scot.
Hardwyn.
} *Labourers.*

Milman
Hillard. } *Boyes.*

Mistresse *Forrest*, and *Anne Burras* her maide; eight *Dutch* men and *Poles*, with some others, to the number of seaventie persons, &c.

These poore conclusions so affrighted vs all with famine, that the President provided for *Nandsamund*, and tooke with him Captaine *Winne*, and Mr *Scrivener*, then returning from Captaine *Newport*. These people also long denied him not onely the 400 Baskets of Corne they promised, but any trade at all; (excusing themselues they had spent most they had, and were commanded by *Powhatan* to keepe that they had, and not to let vs come into their river) till we were constrained to begin with them perforce. Vpon the discharging of our Muskets they all fled and shot not an Arrow; the first house we came to we set on fire, which when they perceiued, they desired we would make no more spoyle, and they would giue vs halfe they had: how they collected it I know not, but before night they loaded our three Boats; and so we returned to our quarter some foure myles downe the River, which was onely the open woods vnder the lay of a hill, where all the ground was covered with snow, and hard frozen; the snow we digged away and made a great fire in the place; when the ground was well dryed, we turned away the fire; and covering the place with a mat, there we lay very warme. To keepe vs from the winde we made a shade of another Mat; as the winde turned we turned our shade, and when the ground grew cold we remoued the fire. And thus many a cold winter night haue wee laine in this miserable manner, yet those that most commonly went vpon all those occasions, were alwayes in health, lusty, and fat. For sparing them this yeare, the next yeare they promised to plant purposely for vs: and so we returned to *Iames* towne. About this time there was a marriage betwixt *Iohn Laydon* and *Anne Burras*; which was the first marriage we had in *Virginia*.

Long he stayed not, but fitting himselfe and Captaine *Waldo* with two Barges. From *Chawopoweanock*, and all parts thereabouts, all the people were fled, as being iealous of our intents; till we discovered the river and people of *Apamatuck*; where we found not much. that they had we equally divided, but gaue them copper, and such things as contented them in consideration. Master *Scrivener* and Lieutenant *Percie* went also abroad. but could find nothing.

The President seeing the procrastinating of time, was no course to liue, resolved with Captaine *Waldo* (whom he knew to be sure in time of need) to surprise *Powhatan*, and all his provision, but the vnwillingnesse of Captaine *Winne*. and

Master *Scrivener*, for some private respect, plotted in *England* to ruine Captaine *Smith*, did their best to hinder their proiect; but the President whom no perswasions could perswade to starue, being invited by *Powhatan* to come vnto him: and if he would send him but men to build him a house, giue him a gryndstone, fiftie swords, some peeces, a cock and a hen, with much copper and beads, he would load his Ship with Corne. The President not ignorant of his devises and subtiltie, yet vnwilling to neglect any opportunitie, presently sent three *Dutch*-men and two *English*, having so small allowance, few were able to doe any thing to purpose: knowing there needed no better a Castle to effect this proiect, tooke order with Captaine *Waldo* to second him, if need required; *Scrivener* he left his substitute, and set forth with the Pinnace, two Barges, and fortie-six men, which onely were such as voluntarily offered themselues for his Iourney, the which by reason of Mr *Scriveners* ill successe, was censured very desperate, they all knowing *Smith* would not returne emptie, if it were to be had; howsoever, it caused many of those that he had appointed, to find excuses to stay behinde.

CHAP. VIII.

Captaine Smiths *Iourney to* Pamavnkee.

The twentie-nine of December he set forward for *Werowocomoco:* his Company were these;

In the Discovery Barge himselfe.
Robert Behethland.
Nathanael Graues.
Iohn Russell.
Raleigh Chrashow.
Michael Sicklemore.
Richard Worley.
Gentlemen.

Anas Todkill.
William Loue.
William Bentley.
Ieffrey Shortridge.
Edward Pising.
William Ward.
Souldiers.

In the Pinnace.

Lieutenant Percie, *brother to the Earle of Northumberland.*
Master Francis West, *brother to the Lord* La Warre.
William Phittiplace, *Captaine of the Pinnace.*
Michael Phittiplace.
Ieffrey Abbot, *Serieant.*
William Tankard.
George Yarington.
Gentle'en.
Ionas Profit, *Master.*
Robert Ford, *Clarke of the Councell.*

James Browne.
Edward Brinton
George Burton.
Thomas Coe.
Sould'rs.
Iohn Dods, *Souldier.*
Henry Powell, *Souldier.*

Thomas Gipson, *David Ellis*, *Nathanael Peacock*, Saylers. *Iohn Prat*, *George Acrig*, *Iames Read*, *Nicholas Hancock*, *Iames Watkins*, *Thomas Lambert*, foure *Dutch*-men, and *Richard Salvage* were sent by land before to build the house for *Powhatan* against our Arrivall.

This company being victualled but for three or foure dayes, lodged the first night at *Warraskoyack*, where the President tooke sufficient provision. This kind King did his best to divert him from seeing *Powhatan*, but perceiuing he could not prevaile, he advised in this manner. Captaine *Smith*, you shall find *Powhatan* to vse you kindly, but trust him not, and be sure he haue no opportunitie to seize on your Armes: for he hath sent for you onely to cut your throats. The Captaine thanking him for his good counsell: yet the better to try his loue, desired guides to *Chawwonock*; for he would send a present to that King, to bind him his friend. To performe this iourney was sent Mr *Sicklemore*, a very valiant, honest, and a painefull Souldier: with him two guides, and directions how to seeke for the lost company of Sir *Walter Raleighs*, and silke Grasse. Then we departed thence, the President assuring the King perpetuall loue: and left with him *Samuel Collier* his Page to learne the Language.

So this Kings deeds by sacred Oath adiur'd.
More wary proues, and circumspect by ods:
Fearing at least his double forfeiture;
To offend his friends, and sin against his Gods.

The next night being lodged at *Kecoughtan*; six or seaven dayes the extreame winde, rayne, frost and snow caused vs to keepe Christmas among the Salvages, where we were never more merry, nor fed on more plentie of good Oysters, Fish, Flesh, Wild foule, and good bread; nor never had better fires in *England*, then in the dry smoaky houses of *Kecoughtan*: but departing thence, when we found no houses we were not curious in any weather to lye three or foure nights together vnder the trees by a fire, as formerly is sayd. An hundred fortie eight foules the President, *Anthony Bagnall*, and Serieant *Pising* did kill at three shoots. At *Kiskiack* the frost and contrary winds forced vs three or foure dayes also (to suppresse the insolency of those proud Salvages) to quarter in their houses, yet guard our Barge, and cause them giue vs what we wanted; though we were but twelue and himselfe, yet we never wanted shelter

where we found any houses. The 12 of Ianuary we arrived at *Werowocomoco*, where the river was frozen neare halfe a myle from the shore: but to neglect no time, the President with his Barge so far had approached by breaking the ice, as the ebbe left him amongst those oasie shoules, yet rather then to lye there frozen to death, by his owne example he taught them to march neere middle deepe, a flight shot through this muddy frozen oase. When the Barge floated, he appoynted two or three to returne her aboord the Pinnace.—Where for want of water in melting the ice, they made fresh water, for the river there was salt. But in this march Mr *Russell*, (whom none could perswade to stay behinde) being somewhat ill, and exceeding heauie, so overtoyled himselfe as the rest had much adoe (ere he got ashore) to regaine life into his dead benummed spirits. Quartering in the next houses we found, we sent to *Powhatan* for provision, who sent vs plentie of bread, Turkies, and Venison; the next day having feasted vs after his ordinary manner, he began to aske vs when we would be gone: fayning he sent not for vs, neither had he any corne; and his people much lesse: yet for fortie swords he would procure vs fortie Baskets. The President shewing him the men there present that brought him the message and conditions, asked *Powhatan* how it chanced he became so forgetfull: thereat the King concluded the matter with a merry laughter, asking for our Commodities, but none he liked without gunnes and swords, valuing a Basket of Corne more precious then a Basket of Copper; saying he could rate his Corne, but not the Copper.

Captaine Smith seeing the intent of this subtill Salvage began to deale with him after this manner. "Powhatan, though I had many courses to haue made my provision, yet beleeving your promises to supply my wants, I neglected all to satisfie your desire: and to testifie my loue, I sent you my men for your building, neglecting mine owne. What your people had you haue ingrossed, forbidding them our trade: and now you thinke by consuming the time, we shall consume for want, not having to fulfill your strange demands. As for swords and gunns, I told you long agoe I had none to spare; and you must know those I haue can keepe me from want: yet steale or wrong you I will not, nor dissolue that friendship we haue mutually promised, except you constraine me by our bad vsage."

The King having attentiuely listned to this Discourse, promised that both he and his Country would spare him what he could, the which within two dayes they should receiue. "Yet Captaine Smith," sayth the King, "some doubt I haue of your comming hither, that makes me not so kindly seeke to relieue you as I would: for many doe informe me, your comming hither is not for trade, but to invade my people, and possesse my Country, who dare not come to bring you Corne, seeing you thus armed with your men. To free vs of this feare, leaue aboord your weapons, for here they are needlesse, we being all friends, and for euer Powhatans."

With many such discourses they spent the day, quartering that night in the Kings houses. The next day he renewed his building, which hee little intended should proceede. For the *Dutch*-men finding his plentie, and knowing our want, and perceiving his preparations to surprise vs, little thinking we could escape both him and famine; (to obtaine his favour) revealed to him so much as they knew of our estates and proiects, and how to prevent them. One of them being of so great a spirit, iudgement, and resolution, and a hireling that was certaine of his wages for his labour, and ever well vsed both he and his Countrymen; that the President knew not whom better to trust; and not knowing any fitter for that imployment, had sent him as a spy to discover *Powhatans* intent, then little doubting his honestie, nor could ever be certaine of his villany till neare halfe a yeare after.

Whilst we expected the comming in of the Country, we wrangled out of the King ten quarters of Corne for a copper Kettell, the which the President perceiving him much to affect, valued it at a much greater rate; but in regard of his scarcity he would accept it, provided we should haue as much more the next yeare, or els the Country of *Monacan*.—Wherewith each seemed well contented, and *Powhatan* began to expostulate the difference of Peace and Warre after this manner.

"Captaine *Smith*, you may vnderstand that I having seene the death of all my people thrice. and not any one liuing of those three generations but my selfe; I know the difference of Peace and Warre better then any in my Country. But now I am old and ere long must die, my brethren, namely *Opitchapam*, *Opechancanough*, and *Kekataugh*, my two sisters, and their two daughters, are distinctly each others suc-

cessors. I wish their experience no lesse then mine, and your loue to them no lesse then mine to you. But this bruit from *Nandsamund*, that you are come to destroy my Country, so much affrighteth all my people as they dare not visit you. What will it availe you to take that by force you may quickly haue by loue, or to destroy them that provide you food. What can you get by warre, when we can hide our provisions and fly to the woods? whereby you must famish by wronging vs your friends. And why are you thus iealous of our loues seeing vs vnarmed, and both doe, and are willing still to feede you, with that you cannot get but by our labours? Thinke you I am so simple, not to know it is better to eate good meate, lye well, and sleepe quietly with my women and children, laugh and be merry with you, haue copper, hatchets, or what I want being your friend: then be forced to flie from all, to lie cold in the woods, feede vpon Acornes, rootes, and such trash, and be so hunted by you, that I can neither rest, eate, nor sleepe; but my tyred men must watch, and if a twig but breake, every one cryeth there commeth Captaine *Smith:* then must I fly I know not whether: and thus with miserable feare, end my miserable life, leauing my pleasures to such youths as you, which through your rash vnaduisednesse may quickly as miserably end, for want of that, you never know where to finde. Let this therefore assure you of our loues, and every yeare our friendly trade shall furnish you with Corne; and now also if you would come in friendly manner to see vs, and not thus with your guns and swords as to invade your foes." To this subtill discourse, the President thus replyed.

"Seeing you will not rightly conceiue of our words, we striue to make you know our thoughts by our deeds; the vow I made you of my loue, both my selfe and my men haue kept. As for your promise I find it euery day violated by some of your subiects: yet we finding your loue and kindnesse, our custome is so far from being vngratefull, that for your sake onely, we haue curbed our thirsting desire of revenge; els had they knowne as well the crueltie we vse to our enemies, as our true loue and courtesie to our friends. And I thinke your iudgement sufficient to conceiue, as well by the adventures we haue vndertaken, as by the advantage we haue (by our Armes) of yours: that had we intended you any hurt, long ere this we could haue effected it. Your people comming to *Iames* Towne are entertained with their Bowes and

Arrowes without any exceptions; we esteeming it with you as it is with vs, to wear our armes as our apparell. As for the danger of our enemies, in such warres consist our chiefest pleasure: for your riches we haue no vse: as for the hiding your prouision, or by your flying to the woods, we shall not so vnadvisedly starue as you conclude, your friendly care in that behalfe is needlesse, for we haue a rule to finde beyond your knowledge."

Many other discourses they had, till at last they began to trade. But the King seeing his will would not be admitted as a law, our guard dispersed, nor our men disarmed, he (sighing) breathed his minde once more in this manner.

"*Captaine Smith*, I neuer use any Werowance so kindely as your selfe, yet from you I receiue the least kindnesse of any. Captaine *Newport* gaue me swords, copper, clothes, a bed, towels, or what I desired; euer taking what I offered him, and would send away his gunnes when I intreated him: none doth deny to lye at my feet, or refuse to doe what I desire, but onely you; of whom I can haue nothing but what you regard not, and yet you will haue whatsoeuer you demand. *Captaine Newport* you call father, and so you call me; but I see for all vs both you will doe what you list, and we must both seeke to content you. But if you intend so friendly as you say, send hence your armes, that I may beleeue you; for you see the loue I beare you, doth cause me thus nakedly to forget myselfe."

Smith seeing this Salvage but trifle the time to cut his throat, procured the salvages to breake the ice, that his Boate might come to fetch his corne and him; and gaue order for more men to come on shore, to surprise the King, with whom also he but trifled the time till his men were landed: and to keepe him from suspicion, entertained the time with this reply.

"*Powhatan* you must know, as I haue but one God, I honour but one King; and I liue not here as your subiect, but as your friend to pleasure you with what I can. By the gifts you bestow on me, you gaine more then by trade: yet would you visit mee as I doe you, you should know it is not our custome, to sell our curtesies as a vendible commodity. Bring all your countrey with you for your guard, I will not dislike it as being ouer iealous. But to content you, to morrow I will leaue my armes, and trust to your promise. I call you

father indeed, and as a father you shall see I will loue you: but the small care you haue of such a childe caused my men perswade me to looke to myselfe."

By this time *Powhatan* hauing knowledge his men were ready whilest the ice was a breaking, with his luggage women and children, fled. Yet to auoyd suspicion, left two or three of the women talking with the Captaine, whilest hee secretly ran away, and his men that secretly beset the house. Which being presently discouered to *Captaine Smith*, with his pistoll, sword, and target hee made such a passage among these naked Diuels: that at his first shoot, they next him tumbled one ouer another, and the rest quickly fled some one way some another: so that without any hurt, onely accompanied with *John Russell*, hee obtained the *corps du guard.* When they perceiued him so well escaped, and with his eighteene men (for he had no more with him a shore) to the vttermost of their skill they sought excuses to dissemble the matter: and *Powhatan* to excuse his flight and the sudden comming of this multitude, sent our Captaine a great bracelet and a chaine of pearle, by an ancient Oratour that bespoke vs to this purpose, perceiuing euen then from our Pinnace, a Barge and men departing and comming vnto vs.

"*Captaine Smith*, our Werowance is fled, fearing your gunnes, and knowing when the ice was broken there would come more men, sent these numbers but to guard his corne from stealing, that might happen without your knowledge: now though some bee hurt by your misprision, yet *Powhatan* is your friend and so will for euer continue. Now since the ice is open, he would haue you send away your corne, and if you would haue his company, send away also your gunnes, which so affrighteth his people, that they dare not come to you as he promised they should."

Then hauing prouided baskets for our men to carry our corne to the boats, they kindly offered their seruice to guard our Armes, that none should steale them. A great many they were of goodly well proportioned fellowes, as grim as Diuels; yet the very sight of cocking our matches, and being to let fly, a few wordes caused them to leaue their bowes and arrowes to our guard, and beare downe our corne on their backes; wee needed not importune them to make dispatch. But our Barges being left on the oase by the ebbe, caused vs stay till the next high-water, so that wee returned

againe to our old quarter. *Powhatan* and his Dutch-men brusting with desire to haue the head of Captaine *Smith*, for if they could but kill him, they thought all was theirs, neglected not any opportunity to effect his purpose. The Indians with all the merry sports they could devise, spent the time till night: then they all returned to *Powhatan*, who all this time was making ready his forces to surprise the house and him at supper. Notwithstanding the eternall all-seeing God did preuent him, and by a strange meanes. For *Pocahontas* his dearest iewell and daughter, in that darke night came through the irksome woods, and told our Captaine great cheare should be sent vs by and by: but *Powhatan* and all the power he could make, would after come kill vs all, if they that brought it could not kill vs with our owne weapons when we were at supper. Therefore if we would liue shee wished vs presently to be gone. Such things as she delighted in, he would haue giuen her: but with the teares running downe her cheekes, she said she durst not be seene to haue any: for if *Powhatan* should know it, she were but dead, and so shee ranne away by her selfe as she came. Within lesse then an houre came eight or ten lusty fellowes, with great platters of venison and other victuall, very importunate to haue vs put out our matches (whose smoke made them sicke) and sit down to our victuall. But the Captaine made them taste euery dish, which done he sent some of them backe to *Powhatan*, to bid him make haste for hee was prepared for his comming. As for them hee knew they came to betray him at his supper: but hee would prevent them and their other intended villanies: so that they might be gone. Not long after came more messengers, to see what newes; not long after them others. Thus wee spent the night as vigilantly as they, till it was high-water, yet seemed to the saluages as friendly as they to vs: and that we were so desirous to giue *Powhatan* content, as he requested, wee did leaue him *Edward Brynton* to kill him foule, and the Dutch-men to finish his house; thinking at our returne from *Pamavnkee* the frost would be gone, and then we might finde a better oportunity if necessity did occasion it, little dreaming yet of the Dutchmens treachery, whose humor well suted this verse:

Is any free, that may not liue as freely as he list?
Let vs liue so, then we'are as free, and bruitish as the best.

CHAP. IX.

How wee escaped surprising at Pamavnkee.

WE had no sooner set sayle but *Powhatan* returned, and sent *Adam* and *Francis* (two stout Dutch-men) to *Iames* towne: who faining to Captaine *Winne* that all things were well, and that Captaine *Smith* had vse of their armes, wherefore they requested new (the which were giuen them) they told him their comming was for some extraordinary tooles, and shift of apparell; by which colourable excuse they obtained sixe or seauen more to their confederacie, such expert theeues, that presently furnished them with a great many swords, pike-heads, peeces, shot, powder and such like: Saluages they had at hand to carry it away, and the next day they returned vnsuspected, leauing their confederates to follow, and in the interim to convay them such things as they could: for which seruice they should liue with *Powhatan* as his chiefe affected, free from those miseries that would happen the Colony. *Samuel* their other consort *Powhatan* kept for their pledge, whose diligence had prouided them three hundred of their kinde of hatchets; the rest fifty swords, eight peeces, and eight pikes. *Brynton* and *Richard Salvage* seeing the Dutchmen so diligent to accomodate the Saluages with weapons, attempted to haue gotten to *Iames* towne, but they were apprehended, and expected euer when to be put to death.

Within two or three dayes we arriued at *Pamavnkee*, the King as many dayes entertained vs with feasting and much mirth. And the day appointed to beginne our trade, the President, Lieutenant *Percie*, Mr. *West*, Mr. *Russell*, Mr. *Behethland*, Mr. *Crashaw*, Mr. *Powell*, Mr. *Ford*, and some others to the number of fifteene, went vp to *Opechancanoughs* house a quarter of a mile from the riuer) where wee found nothing but a lame fellow and a boy: and all the houses round about of all things abandoned. Not long wee stayed ere the King arriued, and after him came diuerse of his people loaden with bowes and arrowes: but such pinching commodities, and those esteemed at such a value, as our Captaine began with the King after this manner.

“ Opechancanough, the great loue you professe with your tongue, seemes meere deceit by your actions. Last yeere

you kindly fraughted our ship: but now you haue inuited mee to starue with hunger: you know my want, and I your plenty; of which by some meanes I must haue part: remember it is fit for Kings to keepe their promise. Here are my commodities, whereof take your choice, the rest I will proportion fit bargains for your people."

The King seemed kindly to accept his offer, and the better to colour his proiect, sold vs what they had to our owne content, promising the next day more company, better prouided. The Barges and Pinnace being committed to the charge of Mr. *Phetiplace;* the President with his old fifteene marched vp to the Kings house, where wee found foure or fiue men newly arriued, each with a great basket. Not long after came the King, who with a strained cheerfulnesse held vs with discourse what paines he had taken to keep his promise; till Mr. *Russell* brought vs in newes that we were all betrayed: for at least seuen hundred Saluages well armed, had inuironed the house, and beset the fields. The King coniecturing what *Russell* related, wee could well perceiue how the extremity of his feare bewrayed his intent: whereat some of our company seeming dismaied with the thought of such a multitude; the Captaine encouraged vs to this effect.

"Worthy Country-men, were the mischiefes of my seeming friends no more then the danger of these enemies, I little cared were they as many more: if you dare doe, but as I. But this is my torment, that if I escape them, our malicious Councell with their open mouthed Minions, will make me such a peace breaker (in their opinions in England) as will breake my necke. I could wish those here, that make these seeme Saints, and me an oppressor. But this is the worst of all, wherein I pray you aid mee with your opinions. Should wee beginne with them and surprise the King, we cannot keepe him and defend well our selues. If we should each kill our man, and so proceed with all in the house; the rest will all fly: then shall wee get no more then the bodies that are slaine, and so starue for victuall. As for their fury it is the least danger, for well you know, being alone assaulted with two or three hundred of them, I made them by the helpe of God compound to saue my life. And wee are sixteene, and they but seauen hundred at the most; and assure your selues, God will so assist vs, that if you dare stand but to discharge your pieces, the very smoke will bee sufficient

to affright them. Yet howsoeuer, let vs fight like men, and not die like sheepe: for by that meanes you know God hath oft deliuered mee, and so I trust will now. But first, I will deale with them, to bring it to passe we may fight for something, and draw them to it by conditions. If you like this motion, promise me you will be valiant."

The time not permitting any argument, all vowed to execute whatsoeuer hee attempted, or die: whereupon the Captaine in plaine tearmes told the King this.

"I see *Opechancanough* your plot to murder me, but I feare it not. As yet your men and mine haue done no harme, but by our direction. Take therefore your Armes, you see mine, my body shall bee as naked as yours: the Isle in your riuer is a fit place, if you be contented: and the conquerour (of vs two) shall be Lord and Master ouer all our men. If you haue not enough, take time to fetch more, and bring what number you will; so euery one bring a basket of corne, against all which I will stake the value in copper, you see I haue but fifteene, and our game shall be, the Conquerour take all."

The King being guarded with forty or fifty of his chiefe men, seemed kindly to appease *Smiths* suspicion of vnkindnesse, by a great present at the doore, they intreated him to receiue. This was to draw him out of the doore, where the bait was guarded with at least two hundred men, and thirty lying vnder a great tree (that lay thwart as a barricado) each his arrow nocked ready to shoot. The President commanded one to go see what kind of deceit this was, and to receiue the present; but he refused to doe it: yet the Gentlemen and all the rest were importunate to goe, but he would not permit them, being vexed at that Coward: and commanded Lieutenant *Percie*, Master *West*, and the rest to make good the house; Master *Powell* and Master *Behethland* he commanded to guard the doore, and in such a rage snatched the King by his long locke in the middest of his men, with his Pistoll readie bent against his breast. Thus he led the trembling King, neare dead with feare amongst all his people: who deliuering the Captaine his Vambrace, Bow, and Arrowes, all his men were easily intreated to cast downe their Armes, little dreaming any durst in that manner haue vsed their King: who then to escape himselfe bestowed his presents in good sadnesse, and causing a great many of them come

before him vnarmed, holding the King by the hayre (as is sayd) he spake to them to this effect.

"I see (you *Pamavnkees*) the great desire you haue to kill me, and my long suffering your iniuries hath imboldened you to this presumption. The cause I haue forborne your insolencies, is the promise I made you (before the God I serue) to be your friend, till you giue me iust cause to be your enemy. If I keepe this vow, my God will keepe me, you cannot hurt me: if I breake it, he will destroy me. But if you shoot but one Arrow to shed one drop of bloud of any of my men, or steale the least of these Beads, or Copper. I spurne here before you with my foot; you shall see I will not cease revenge (if once I begin) so long as I can heare where to finde one of your Nation that will not deny the name of *Pamavrk*. I am not now at *Rassaweak* halfe drowned with myre, where you tooke me prisoner; yet then for keeping your promise and your good vsage and saving my life, I so affect you, that your denyals of your trechery, doe halfe perswade me to mistake my selfe. But if I be the marke you ayme at, here I stand, shoot he that dare. You promised to fraught my Ship ere I departed, and so you shall, or I meane to load her with your dead carcasses, yet if as friends you will come and trade, I once more promise not to trouble you, except you giue me the first occasion, and your King shall be free and be my friend, for I am not come to hurt him or any of you."

Vpon this away went their Bowes and Arrowes, and men, women, and children brought in their Commodities: two or three houres they so thronged about the President and so overwearied him, as he retyred himselfe to rest, leauing Mr *Behethland* and Mr *Powell* to receiue their presents, but some Salvages perceiuing him fast asleepe, and the guard somewhat carelesly dispersed, fortie or fiftie of their choise men each with a club, or an English sword in his hand began to enter the house with two or three hundred others, that pressed to second them. The noyse and hast they made in, did so shake the house they awoke him from his sleepe, and being halfe amazed with this suddaine sight, betooke him strait to his sword and Target; Mr *Chrashaw* and some others charged in like manner; whereat they quickly thronged faster backe then before forward. The house thus cleansed, the King and some of his auncients we kept yet with him,

who with a long Oration, excused this intrusion. The rest of the day was spent with much kindnesse, the companie againe renewing their presents with their best provisions, and whatsoever he gaue them they seemed therewith well contented.

Now in the meane while since our departure, this hapned at our Fort. Master *Scrivener* having receiued Letters from *England* to make himselfe either *Cæsar* or nothing, he began to decline in his affection to Captaine *Smith*, that ever regarded him as himselfe, and was willing to crosse the surprising of *Powhatan*. Some certaine daies after the Presidents departure, he would needs goe visit the Isle of Hogs, and tooke with him Captaine *Waldo* (though the President had appointed him to be ready to second his occasions) with Mr *Anthony Gosnoll* and eight others; but so violent was the wind (that extreame frozen time) that the Boat sunke, but where or how none doth know. The Skiff was much overloaden, and would scarce haue liued in that extreame tempest had she beene empty: but by no perswasion he could be diverted, though both *Waldo* and an hundred others doubted as it hapned. The Salvages were the first that found their bodies, which so much the more encouraged them to effect their proiects. To advertise the President of this heavie newes, none could be found would vndertake it, but the Iourney was often refused of all in the Fort, vntill Master *Richard Wyffin* vndertooke alone the performance thereof.

In this Iourney he was incountred with many dangers and difficulties in all parts as he passed. As for that night he lodged with *Powhatan*, perceiuing such preparation for warre, not finding the President there: he did assure himselfe some mischiefe was intended. *Pocahontas* hid him for a time, and sent them who pursued him the cleane contrary way to seeke him; but by her meanes and extraordinary bribes and much trouble in three dayes travell, at length he found vs in the middest of these turmoyles. This vnhappy newes the President swore him to conceale from the company, and so dissembling his sorrow with the best countenances he could, when the night approached went safely aboord with all his Souldiers; leauing *Opechancanough* at libertie, according to his promise, the better to haue *Powhatan* in his returne.

Now so extreamely *Powhatan* had threatned the death of his men, if they did not by some meanes kill Captaine *Smith:*

that the next day they appointed all the country should come to trade vnarmed: yet vnwilling to be trecherous, but that they were constrained, hating fighting with him almost as ill as hanging, such feare they had of bad successe. The next morning the Sunne had not long appeared, but the fields appeared covered with people and Baskets, to tempt vs on shore: but nothing was to be had without his presence, nor they would not indure the sight of a gun. When the President saw them begin to depart, being vnwilling to loose such a bootie, he so well contrived the Pinnace, and his Barges, with Ambuscadoes, as onely with Lieutenant *Percie*, Mr. *West*, and Mr. *Russell*, with their Armes went on shore; others he appointed vnarmed to receiue what they brought. The Salvages flocked before him in heapes, and the banke serving as a trench for a retreat, he drew them fayre open to his Ambuscado's. For he not being to be perswaded to goe visit their King, the King knowing the most of them vnarmed, came to visit him with two or three hundred men, in the forme of two halfe Moones; and with some twentie men, and many women loaden with painted Baskets. But when they approached somewhat neare vs, their women and children fled. For when they had environed and beset the fields in this manner, they thought their purpose sure, yet so trembled with feare as they were scarce able to nock their Arrowes: *Smith* standing with his three men ready bent, beholding them till they were within danger of our Ambuscado's, who vpon the word discovered themselues, and he retyred to the Barge. Which the Salvages no sooner perceived, then away they fled, esteeming their heeles for their best advantage.

That night we sent Mr. *Chrashaw*, and Mr. *Ford* to *Iames* towne to Cap. *Winne*. In the way betweene *Werowocomoco* and the Fort they met foure or fiue of the *Dutch*-mens Confederates going to *Powhatan:* the which to excuse those Gentlemens suspicion of their running to the Salvages, returned to the Fort and there continued.

The Salvages hearing our Barge goe downe the river in the night, were so terribly affrayde, that we sent for more men (we having so much threatned their ruine, and the rasing of their houses, boats, and wires) that the next day the King sent our Captaine a chayne of Pearle, to alter his purpose and stay his men: promising though they wanted themselues, to fraught our ship and bring it aboord to avoyd suspition.

So that fiue or six dayes after, from all parts of the Country within ten or twelue myles in the extreame frost and snow, they brought vs provision on their naked backes.

Yet notwithstanding this kindnesse and trade, had their art and poyson beene sufficient, the President with Mr. *West*, and some others had beene poysoned; it made them sicke, but expelled itselfe. *Wecuttanow*, a stout young fellow, knowing he was suspected for bringing this present of poyson, with fortie or fiftie of his chiefe companions (seeing the President but with a few men at *Potavncak*) so proudly braued it, as though he expected to incounter a revenge.—Which the President perceiuing in the midst of his company, did not onely beate, but spurned him like a dogge, as scorning to doe him any worse mischiefe. Wherevpon all of them fled into the woods, thinking they had done a great matter to haue so well escaped: and the townesmen remaining presently fraughted our Barge to be rid of our companies, framing many excuses to excuse *Wecuttanow*, (being sonne to their chiefe King, but *Powhatan*) and told vs if we would shew them him that brought the poyson, they would deliuer him to vs to punish as we pleased. Men may thinke it strange there should be such a stirre for a little corne, but had it beene gold with more ease wee might haue got it; and had it wanted, the whole *Colony* had starued. We may be thought very patient to endure all those iniuries, yet onely with fearing them wee got what they had. Whereas if we had taken revenge, then by their losse, we should haue lost our selues. We searched also the Countries of *Youghtanund* and *Mattapanient*, where the people imparted that little they had with such complaints and tears from the eyes of women and children, as he had beene too cruell to haue beene a Christian, that would not haue beene satisfied and moued with compassion. But had this hapned in October, November, and December, when that vnhappie discovery of *Monacan* was made, we might haue fraughted a ship of fortie tuns, and twise as much might haue beene had from the Rivers of *Rapahanock*, *Patawomek*, and *Pawtuxunt*.

The maine occasion of our thus temporizing with them was, to part friends as we did, to giue the lesse cause of suspition to *Powhatan* to fly, by whom we now returned with a purpose to haue surprised him and his provision. For effecting whereof (when we came against the Towne) the

President sent Mr *Wyffin* and Mr *Coe* ashore to discover and make way for his intended proiect. But they found that those damned *Dutch*-men had caused *Powhatan* to abandon his new house and *Werowocomoco*, and to carry away all his corne and provision: and the people they found so ill affected, that they were in great doubt how to escape with their liues. So the President finding his intent frustrated, and that there was nothing now to be had, and therefore an vnfit time to revenge their abuses, sent Master *Michael Phittiplace* by Land to *Iames* towne, whether we sayled with all the speed we could; wee having in this Iourney (for 25l. Copper, and 50l. of Iron and Beads) enough to keepe 46 men six weekes, and every man for his reward a moneths provision extraordinary (no trade being allowed but for the store) we got neare 200l waight of deere suet, and delivered to the Cape Merchant 479 Bushels of Corne.

Those temporizing proceedings to some may seeme too charitable, to such a daily daring trecherous people: to others not pleasing, that we washed not the ground with their bloods, nor shewed such strange inventions in mangling, murdering, ransacking, and destroying (as did the *Spanyards*) the simple bodies of such ignorant soules; nor delightfull, because not stuffed with Relations of heapes and mynes of gold and silver, nor such rare commodities, as the *Portugals* and *Spanyards* found in the East and West *Indies*. The want whereof hath begot vs (that were the first vndertakers) no lesse scorne and contempt, then the noble conquests and valiant adventures beautified with it, prayse and honour. Too much I confesse the world cannot attribute to their ever memorable merit: and to cleare vs from the blind worlds ignorant censure, these few words may suffice any reasonable vnderstanding.

It was the *Spanyards* good hap to happen in those parts where were infinite numbers of people, who had manured the ground with that providence, it affoorded victualls at times. And time had brought them to that perfection, they had the vse of gold and silver and the most of such commodities as those Countries affoorded: so that, what the *Spanyard* got was chiefely the spoyle and pillage of those Countrey people, and not the labours of their owne hand. But had those fruitfull Countries beene as salvage, as barbarous, as ill peopled, as little planted, laboured, and manured, as *Virginia:*

their proper labours it is likely would haue produced as small profit as ours. But had *Virginia* been peopled, planted, manured, and adorned with such store of precious Iewels, and rich commodities as was the *Indies:* then had we not gotten and done as much as by their examples might be expected from vs, the world might then haue traduced vs and our merits, and haue made shame and infamy our recompence and reward.

But we chanced in a Land even as God made it, where we found onely an idle, improvident, scattered people, ignorant of the knowledge of gold or silver, or any commodities, and carelesse of any thing but from hand to mouth, except babies of no worth; nothing to encourage vs but what accidentally we found Nature afforded. Which ere we could bring to recompence our paines, defray our charges, and satisfie our Adventurers; we were to discover the Countrey, subdue the people, bring them to be tractable, civill, and industrious, and teach them trades, that the fruits of their labours might make vs some recompence, or plant such *Colonies* of our owne, that must first make prouision how to liue of themselues, ere they can bring to perfection the commodities of the Country: which doubtlesse will be as commodious for *England* as the west *Indies* for *Spaine*, if it be rightly managed: notwithstanding all our home-bred opinions, that will argue the contrary, as formerly some haue done against the *Spanyards* and *Portugalls.* But to conclude, against all rumor of opinion, I onely say this, for those that the three first yeares began this Plantation; notwithstanding all their factions, mutinies, and miseries, so gently corrected, and well prevented: pervse the the *Spanish Decades;* the Relations of Master *Hackluit,* and tell me how many ever with such small meanes as a Barge of 22 tuns, sometimes with seauen, eight, or nine, or but at most, twelue or sixteene men, did euer discover so many fayre and navigable Rivers, subiect so many severall Kings, people, and Nations, to obedience, and contribution with so little bloudshed.

And if in the search of those Countries we had hapned where wealth had beene, we had as surely had it as obedience and contribution, but if we haue overskipped it, we will not enuie them that shall find it: yet can we not but lament, it was our fortunes to end when we had but onely learned how to begin, and found the right course how to proceed.

By Richard Wyffin, William Phettiplace, Ieffrey Abbot, and Anas Todkill.

CHAP. X.

How the Salvages *became subiect to the* English.

When the Ships departed, all the provision of the Store (but that the President had gotten) was so rotten with the last Summers rayne, and eaten with Rats and Wormes, as the Hogges would scarcely eate it. Yet it was the Souldiers dyet till our returnes, so that we found nothing done, but our victuals spent, and the most part of our tooles, and a good part of our Armes conveyed to the Salvages. But now casting vp the Store, and finding sufficient till the next harvest, the feare of starving was abandoned, and the company divided into tens, fifteens, or as the businesse required; six houres each day was spent in worke, the rest in Pastime and merry exercises, but the vntowardnesse of the greatest number caused the President advise as followeth.

"Countrymen, the long experience of our late miseries, I hope is sufficient to perswade every one to a present correction of himselfe, and thinke not that either my pains, nor the Adventurers purses, will ever maintaine you in idlenesse and sloath. I speake not this to you all, for divers of you I know deserue both honour and reward, better then is yet here to be had: but the greater part must be more industrious, or starue, how euer you haue beene heretofore tollerated by the authoritie of the Councell, from that I haue often commanded you. You see now that power resteth wholly in my selfe: you must obey this now for a Law, that he that will not worke shall not eate (except by sicknesse he be disabled:) for the labours of thirtie or fortie honest and industrious men shall not be consumed to maintaine an hundred and fiftie idle loyterers. And though you presume the authoritie here is but a shadow, and that I dare not touch the liues of any but my owne must answer it: the Letters patents shall each weeke be read to you, whose Contents will tell you the contrary.—I would wish you therefore without contempt seeke to obserue these orders set downe, for there are now no more Councellers to protect you, nor curbe my endevours. Therefore he that offendeth, let him assuredly expect his due punishment."

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He made also a Table, as a publicke memoriall of every mans deserts, to incourage the good, and with shame to spurre on the rest to amendment. By this many became very industrious, yet more by punishment performed their businesse, for all were so tasked, that there was no excuse could prevaile to deceiue him: yet the *Dutch*-mens consorts so closely convayed them powder, shot, swords, and tooles, that though we could find the defect, we could not finde by whom, till it was too late.

All this time the *Dutch* men remaining with *Powhatan*, (who kindly entertained them to instruct the Salvages the vse of our Armes) and their consorts not following them as they expected; to know the cause, they sent *Francis* their companion, a stout young fellow, disguised like a Salvage, to the Glasse-house, a place in the woods neare a myle from *Iames* Towne; where was their *Rendezvous* for all their vnsuspected villany. Fortie men they procured to lie in Ambuscado for Captaine *Smith*, who no sooner heard of this *Dutch*-man, but he sent to apprehend him (but he was gone) yet to crosse his returne to *Powhatan*, the Captaine presently dispatched 20. shot after him, himselfe returning from the Glasse-house alone. By the way he incountred the King of *Paspahegh*, a most strong stout Salvage, whose perswasions not being able to perswade him to his Ambush, seeing him onely armed but with a faucheon, attempted to haue shot him, but the President prevented his shooting by grapling with him, and the Salvages as well prevented him for drawing his faucheon, and perforce bore him into the River to haue drowned him. Long they strugled in the water, till the President got such a hold on his throat, he had neare strangled the King; but hauing drawne his faucheon to cut off his head, seeing how pitifully he begged his life, he led him prisoner to *Iames* Towne and put him in chaynes.

The *Dutch*-man ere long was also brought in, whose villany though all this time it was suspected, yet he fayned such a formall excuse, that for want of language Captaine *Winne* vnderstood him not rightly, and for their dealings with *Powhatan*, that to saue their liues they were constrained to accommodate his armes, of whom he extreamely complained to haue detained them perforce. and that he made this escape with the hazard of his life, and meant not to haue returned, but was onely walking into the woods to gather

Walnuts. Yet for all this faire tale, there was so small appearance of truth, and the plaine confession of *Paspahegh* of his trechery, he went by the heeles. *Smith* purposing to regaine the *Dutch*-men by the saving his life. The poore Salvage did his best by his daily messengers to *Powhatan*, but all returned that the *Dutch*-men would not returne, neither did *Powhatan* stay them; and to bring them fiftie myles on his mens backes they were not able. Daily this Kings wiues, children, and people came to visit him with presents, which he liberally bestowed to make his peace. Much trust they had in the Presidents promise: but the King finding his guard negligent, though fettered yet escaped. Captaine *Winne* thinking to pursue him found such troupes of Salvages to hinder his passage, as they exchanged many vollies of shot for flights of Arrowes: Captaine *Smith* hearing of this in returning to the Fort, tooke two Salvages prisoners, called *Kemps* and *Tussore*, the two most exact villaines in all the Country. With these he sent Captaine *Winne* and fiftie choise men, and Lieutenant *Percie*, to haue regained the King, and revenged this iniury, and so had done, if they had followed his directions, and beene advised with those two villaines, that would haue betrayed both King and kindred for a peece of Copper, but he trifling away the night, the Salvages the next morning by the rising of the Sunne, braved him to come ashore to fight, a good time both sides let fly at other, but we heard of no hurt, onely they tooke two Canowes, burnt the Kings house, and so returned to *Iames* towne.

The President fearing those Bravado's would but incourage the Salvages, began againe himselfe to try his conclusions, whereby six or seauen were slaine, as many made prisoners. He burnt their houses, tooke their Boats, with all their fishing wires, and planted some of them at *Iames* towne for his owne vse, and now resolved not to cease till he had revenged himselfe of all them had iniured him. But in his iourney passing by *Paspahegh* towards *Chickahamania*, the Salvages did their best to draw him to their Ambuscadoes; but seeing him regardlesly passe their Country, all shewed themselues in their bravest manner. To try their valours he could not but let fly, and ere he could land, they no sooner knew him, but they threw downe their armes and desired peace. Their Orator

was a lustie young fellow called *Okaning*, whose worthy discoure deserveth to be remembred. And thus it was:

" Captaine *Smith*, my Master is here present in the company, thinking it Capt. *Winne*, and not you, (of him he intended to haue beene revenged) having never offended him. If he hath offended you in escaping your imprisonment, the fishes swim, the foules fly, and the very beasts striue to escape the snare and liue. Then blame not him being a man. He would intreat you remember, you being a prisoner, what paines he tooke to saue your life. If since he hath iniured you he was compelled to it: but howsoeuer, you haue revenged it with our too great losse. We perceiue and well know you intend to destroy vs, that are here to intreat and desire your friendship, and to enioy our houses and plant our fields, of whose fruit you shall participate: otherwise you will haue the worse by our absence: for we can plant any where, though with more labour, and we know you cannot liue if you want our harvest, and that reliefe we bring you. If you promise vs peace, we will beleeue you; if you proceed in revenge we will abandon the Country."

Vpon these tearmes the President promised them peace, till they did vs iniury, vpon condition they should bring in provision. Thus all departed good friends, and so continued till *Smith* left the Countrey.

Arriving at *Iames* Towne, complaint was made to the President, that the *Chickahamanians*, who all this while continued trade and seemed our friends, by colour thereof were the onely theeues. And amongst other things a Pistoll being stolne and the theefe fled, there was apprehended two proper young fellowes, that were brothers, knowne to be his confederates. Now to regaine this Pistoll, the one was imprisoned, the other was sent to returne the Pistoll againe within twelue houres, or his brother to be hanged. Yet the President pittying the poore naked Salvage in the dungeon, sent him victuall and some Char-coale for a fire: ere midnight his brother returned with the Pistoll, but the poore Salvage in the dungeon was so smoothered with the smoake he had made and so pittiously burnt, that wee found him dead. The other most lamentably bewayled his death, and broke forth into such bitter agonies, that the President to quiet him, told him that if hereafter they would not steale, he would make him aliue againe: but he little thought he could be recovered.—

Yet we doing our best with *Aqua vitæ* and *Vineger*, it pleased God to restore him againe to life, but so drunke and affrighted, that he seemed Lunaticke, the which as much tormented and grieued the other, as before to see him dead.—Of which maladie vpon promise of their good behavour, the President promised to recover him: and so caused him to be layd by a fire to sleepe, who in the morning hauing well slept, had recovered his perfect senses, and then being dressed of his burning, and each a peece of Copper giuen them, they went away so well contented, that this was spread among all the Salvages for a miracle, that Captaine *Smith* could make a man aliue that was dead.

Another ingenuous Salvage of *Powhatans*, having gotten a great bag of Powder, and the backe of an Armour, at *Werowocomoco* amongst a many of his companions, to shew his extraordinary skill, he did dry it on the backe as he had seene the Souldiers at *Iames* Towne. But he dryed it so long, they peeping over it to see his skill, it tooke fire, and blew him to death, and one or two more, and the rest so scorched, they had little pleasure to meddle any more with powder.

These and many other such pretty Accidents, so amazed and affrighted both *Powhatan*, and all his people, that from all parts with presents they desired peace: returning many stolne things which we never demanded nor thought of: and after that, those that were taken stealing, both *Powhatan* and his people haue sent them backe to *Iames* towne, to receiue their punishment; and all the Countrey became absolute as free for vs, as for themselues.

CHAP. XI.

What was done in three moneths having Victualls. The Store devoured by Rats, how we liued three moneths of such naturall fruits as the Country affoorded.

Now we so quietly followed our businesse, that in three moneths wee made three or foure Last of Tarre, Pitch, and Sope ashes; produced a tryall of Glasse; made a Well in the Fort of excellent sweet water, which till then was wanting; built some twentie houses: recovered our Church; provided Nets and Wires for fishing: and to stop the disorders of our disorderly theeues. and the Salvages built a Blockhouse in the neck of our Isle, kept by a Garrison to entertaine the Saluages trade, and none to passe nor repasse Saluage nor Christian without the presidents order. Thirtie or forty Acres of ground we digged and planted. Of three sowes in eighteene moneths, increased 60, and od Pigs. And neare 500. chickings, brought vp themselues without hauing any meate giuen them: but the Hogs were transported to Hog-Isle: where also we built a block-house with a garison to giue vs notice of any shipping, and for their exercise they made Clapbord and waynscot, and cut downe trees. We built also a fort for a retreat neere a conuenient Riuer vpon a high commanding hill, very hard to be assalted and easie to be defended, but ere it was finished this defect caused a stay.

In searching our casked corne, we found it halfe rotten, and the rest so consumed with so many thousands of Rats that increased so fast, but theire originall was from the ships, as we knew not how to keepe that little we had. This did driue vs all to our wits end, for there was nothing in the country but what nature afforded. Vntil this time *Kemps* and *Tassore* were fettered prisoners, and did double taske and taught vs how to order and plant our fields: whom now for want of victuall we set at liberty, but so well they liked our companies they did not desire to goe from vs. And to expresse their loues for 16. dayes continuance, the Countrie people brought vs (when least) 100. a day, of Squirrils, Turkyes, Deere and other wilde beasts: But this want of corne occasioned the end of all our works, it being worke sufficient

to provide victuall. 60. or 80. with *Ensigne Laxon* was sent downe the riuer to liue vpon Oysters, and 20. with lieutenant *Percy* to try for fishing at *Poynt Comfort:* but in six weekes they would not agree once to cast out the net, he being sick and burnt sore with Gunpouder. Master *West* with as many went vp the falls, but nothing could be found but a few Acornes; of that in store euery man had their equall proportion. Till this present, by the hazard and indeuours of some thirtie or fortie, this whole Colony had ever beene fed. We had more Sturgeon, then could be deuoured by Dog and Man, of which the industrious by drying and pounding, mingled with Caviare, Sorell and other wholesome hearbes would make bread and good meate: others would gather as much *Tockwhogh* roots, in a day as would make them bread a weeke, so that of those wilde fruits, and what we caught, we liued very well in regard of such a diet. But such was the strange condition of some 150, that had they not beene forced *nolens, volens,* perforce to gather and prepare their victuall they would all haue starued, or haue eaten one another. Of those wild fruits the Salvages often brought vs, and for that, the President would not fullfill the vnreasonable desire, of those distracted Gluttonous Loyterers, to sell not only out kettles, hows, tooles, and Iron, nay swords, pieces, and the very Ordnance and howses, might they haue prevayled to haue beene but Idle: for those Saluage fruites, they would haue had imparted all to the Saluages, especially for one basket of Corne they heard of to be at *Powhatans,* fifty myles from our Fort. Though he bought neere halfe of it to satisfie their humors, yet to haue had the other halfe, they would haue sould their soules, though not sufficient to haue kept them a weeke. Thousands were there exclamations, suggestions and deuises, to force him to those base inventions to haue made it an occasion to abandon the Country. Want perforce constrained him to indure their exclaiming follies, till he found out the author, one *Dyer* a most crafty fellow and his ancient Maligner, whom he worthily punished, and with the rest he argued the case in this manner.

“Fellow souldiers, I did little thinke any so false to report, or so many to be so simple to be perswaded, that I either intend to starue you, or that *Powhatan* at this present hath corne for himselfe, much lesse for you; or that I would not

haue it, if I knew where it were to be had. Neither did I thinke any so malitious as now I see a great many; yet it shal not so passionate me, but I will doe my best for my most maligner. But dreame no longer of this vaine hope from *Powhatan*, not that I will longer forbeare to force you, from your Idlenesse, and punish you if you rayle. But if I finde any more runners for Newfoundland with the Pinnace, let him assuredly looke to arriue at the Gallows. You cannot deny but that by the hazard of my life many a time I haue saued yours, when (might your owne wills haue preuailed) you would haue starued: and will doe still whether I will or noe; But I protest by that God that made me, since necessitie hath not power to force you to gather for your selues those fruites the earth doth yeeld, you shall not onely gather for your selues, but those that are sicke. As yet I neuer had more from the store then the worst of you: and all my English extraordinay prouision that I haue, you shall see me diuide it amongst the sicke. And this Saluage trash you so scornfully repine at; being put in your mouthes your stomackes can disgest, if you would haue better you should haue brought it; and therefore I will take a course you shall prouide what is to be had. The sick shall not starue, but equally share of all our labours; and he that gathereth not every day as much as I doe, the next day shall be set beyond the riuer, and be banished from the Fort as a drone, till he amend his conditions or starue." Bnt some would say with *Seneca*.

I know those things thou sayst are true good Nurse,
But fury forceth me to follow worse.
My minde is hurried headlong vp and downe:
Desiring better counsell, yet finds none.

This order many murmured was very cruell, but it caused the most part so well bestirre themselues, that of 200. (except they were drowned) there died not past seuen: as for Captaine *Winne* and Master *Leigh* they were dead ere this want hapned, and the rest dyed not for want of such as preserued the rest. Many were billetted amongst the Saluages, whereby we knew all their passages, fields and habitations, how to gather and vse their fruits as well as themselues; for they did know we had such a commanding power at *Iames* towne they durst not wrong vs of a pin.

So well those poore Saivages vsed vs that were thus billetted, that diuers of the Souldiers ran away to search *Kemps*

and *Tassore* our old prisoners. Glad were these Salvages to haue such an opportunity to testifie their loue vnto vs, for in stead of entertaining them, and such things as they had stollen, with all their great Offers, and promises they made them how to reuenge their iniuryes vpon Captaine *Smith; Kemps* first made himselfe sport, in shewing his countrie men (by them) how he was vsed, feeding them with this law, who would not work must not eat, till they were neere starued indeede, continually threatning to beat them to death: neither could they get from him, till hee and his consorts brought them perforce to our Captaine, that so well contented him and punished them, as many others that intended also to follow them, were rather contented to labour at home, then adueuture to liue idly amongst the Salvages; (of whom there was more hope to make better Christians and good subiects, then the one halfe of those that counterfeited themselues both.) For so affraide was al those kings and the better sort of the people to displease vs, that some of the baser sort that we haue extreamely hurt and punished for their villanies would hire vs, we should not tell it to their kings, or countrymen, who would also punish them, and yet returne them to *James* towne to content the President for a testimony of their loues.

Master *Sicklemore* well returned from *Chawwonoke;* but found little hope and lesse certaintie of them were left by Sir *Walter Raleigh.* The riuer, he saw was not great, the people few, the countrey most over growne with pynes, where there did grow here and there straglingly *Pemminaw,* we call silke grasse. But by the riuer the ground was good, and exceeding furtill;

Master *Nathanael Powell* and *Anas Todkill* were also by the *Quiyoughquohanocks* conducted to the *Mangoags* to search them there: but nothing could they learne but they were all dead. This honest proper good promise-keeping king, of all the rest did euer best affect vs, and though to his false Gods he was very zealous, yet he would confesse our God as much exceeded his as our Guuns did his Bow and Arrowes, often sending our President many presents, to pray to his God for raine or his corne would perish, for his Gods were angry. Three dayes iourney they conducted them through the woods, into a high country towards the Southwest: where they saw here and there a little corne field, by

some little spring or smal brooke, but no riuer they could see: the people in all respects like the rest, except their language: they liue most vpon rootes, fruites and wilde beasts; and trade with them towards the sea and the fatter countryes for dryed fish and corne, for skins.

All this time to recouer the *Dutch*-men and one *Bentley* another fugitiue, we imployed one *William Volday*, a *Zwitzar* by birth, with Pardons and promises to regaine them.—Little we then suspected this double villaine of any villany; who plainly taught vs, in the most trust was the greatest treason; for this wicked hypocrite, by the seeming hate he bore to the lewd conditions of his cursed countrymen, (hauing this opportunity by his imployment to regaine them) conuayed them euery thing they desired to effect their proiects, to distroy the Colony. With much deuotion they expected the *Spaniard*, to whom they intended good seruice, or any other, that would but carry them from vs. But to begin with the first oportunity; they seeing necessitie thus inforced vs to disperse our selues, importuned *Powhatan* to lend them but his forces, and they would not onely distroy our Hoggs, fire our towne, and betray our Pinnace; but bring to his seruice and subiection the most of our company. With this plot they had acquainted many Discontents, and many were agreed to their Deuilish practise. But one *Thomas Douse*, and *Thomas Mallard* (whose christian hearts relented at such an vnchristian act) voluntarily reuealed it to Captaine *Smith*, who caused them to conceale it, perswading *Douse* and *Mallard* to proceed in their confedracie: onely to bring the irreclamable *Dutch* men and the inconstant Salvages in such a manner amongst such Ambuscado's as he had prepared, that not many of them should returne from our *Peninsula*. But this brute comming to the eares of the impatient multitude they so importuned the President to cut off those *Dutch*-men, as amongst many that offred to cut their throats before the face of *Powhatan*, the first was Lieutenant *Percy*, and Mr. *Iohn Cuderington*, two Gentlemen of as bold resolute spirits as could possibly be found. But the President had occasion of other imploiment for them, and gaue way to Master *Wyffin* and Sarieant *Ieffrey Abbot*, to goe and stab them or shoot them. But the *Dutch* men made such excuses, accusing *Volday* whom they supposed had reuealed their proiect, as *Abbot* would not, yet *Wyffing* would, perceiuing it but deceit. The

King vnderstanding of this their imployment, sent presently his messengers to Captaine *Smith* to signifie it was not his fault to detaine them nor hinder his men from executing his command: nor did he nor would he maintaine them, or any to occasion his displeasure.

But whilst this businesse was in hand, Arriued one Captaine *Argall*, and Master *Thomas Sedan*, sent by Master *Cornelius* to truck with the *Colony*, and fish for Sturgeon, with a ship well furnished, with wine and much other good provision. Though it was not sent vs, our necessities was such as inforced vs to take it. He brought vs newes of a great supply and preparation for the Lord *La Warre*, with letters that much taxed our President for his heard dealing with the Salvages, and not returning the shippes fraughted. Notwithstanding we kept this ship tell the fleete arriued. True it is *Argall* lost his voyage, but we reuictualled him, and sent him for England, with a true relation of the causes of our defailments, and how impossible it was to returne that wealth they expected, or obserue there instructions to indure the Salvages insolencies, or doe any thing to any purpose, except they would send vs men and meanes that could produce that they so much desired: otherwises all they did was lost, and could not but come to confusion. The villany of *Volday* we still dissembled. *Adam* vpon his pardon came home but *Samuell* still stayed with *Powhatan* to heare further of their estates by this supply. Now all their plots *Smith* so well vnderstood, they were his best advantages to secure vs from any trechery, could be done by them or the Salvages: which with facility he could revenge when he would, because all those countryes more feared him then *Powhatan*, and hee had such parties with all his bordering neighbours: and many of the rest for loue or feare would haue done any thing he would haue them, vpon any commotion, though these fugitiues had done all they could to perswade *Powhatan*, King *Iames* would kill *Smith*, for vsing him and his people so vnkindly.

By this you may see for all those crosses, trecheries, and dissentions, how he wrestled and overcame (without bloudshed) all that hapued: also what good was done; how few dyed; what food the Country naturally affoordeth; what small cause there is men should starue, or be murthered by the Salvages, that haue discretion to manage them with courage and industrie. The two first yeares, though by his adven-

tures, he had oft brought the Salvages to a tractable trade, yet you see how the envious authoritie ever crossed him, and frustrated his best endevours. But it wrought in him that experience and estimation amongst the Salvages, as otherwise it had bin impossible, he had ever effected that he did. Notwithstanding the many miserable, yet generous and worthy adventures, he had oft and long endured in the wide world, yet in this case he was againe to learne his Lecture by experience. Which with thus much adoe having obtained, it was his ill chance to end, when he had but onely learned how to begin. And though he left those vnknowne difficulties (made easy and familiar) to his vnlawfull successors, (who onely by liuing in *Iames* Towne, presumed to know more then all the world could direct them:) Now though they had all his Souldiers, with a tripple power, and twice tripple better meanes; by what they haue done in his absence, the world may see what they would haue done in his presence, had he not prevented their indiscretions: it doth iustly proue, what cause he had to send them for *England*, and that he was neither factious, mutinous, nor dishonest. But they haue made it more plaine since his returne for *England;* having his absolute authoritie freely in their power, with all the advantages and opportunitie that his labours had effected. As I am sorry their actions haue made it so manifest, so I am vnwilling to say what reason doth compell me, but onely to make apparent the truth, least I should seeme partiall, reasonlesse, and malicious.

CHAP. XII.

The Arrivall of the third Supply.

To redresse those jarres and ill proceedings, the Treasurer, Councell, and Company of *Virginia*, not finding that returne, and profit they expected; and them ingaged there, not hauing meanes to subsist of themselues, made meanes to his Maiestie, to call in their Commission, and take a new in their owne names, as in their owne publication, 1610. you may reade at large. Having thus annihilated the old by vertue of a Commission made to the right Honourable, Sir *Thomas*

West, Lord *de la Warre*, to be Generall of *Virginia*; Sir *Thomas Gates*, his Lieutenant; Sir *George Somers*, Admirall; Sir *Thomas Dale*, high Marshall; Sir *Ferdinando Wainman*, Generall of the Horse; and so all other offices to many other worthy Gentlemen, for their liues: (though not any of them had ever beene in *Virginia*, except Captaine *Newport*, who was also by Patent made vice-Admirall:) those noble Gentlemen drew in such great summes of money, that they sent Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, and Captaine *Newport* with nine shippes, and fiue hundred people, who had each of them a Commission, who first arrived to call in the old, without the knowledge or consent of them, that had endured all those former dangers to beat the path, not any regard had at all of them. All things being ready, because those three Captaines could not agree for place, it was concluded they should goe all in one ship, so all their three Commissions were in that Ship with them called the *Sea-Venture*. They set sayle from *England* in May 1609. A small Catch perished at Sea, in a Hericano: the Admirall with an hundred and fiftie men, with the two Knights, and their new Commission, their Bils of Loading, with all manner of directions, and the most part of their provision arrived not. With the other seauen Ships as Captaines arrived *Ratliffe*, whose right name (as is sayd) was *Sicklemore*, *Martin*, and *Archer* with Captaine *Wood*, Captaine *Webbe*, Captaine *Moone*, Captaine *King*, Captaine *Davis*, and divers Gentlemen of good meanes, and great parentage. But the first as they had beene troublesome at Sea, began againe to marre all ashore: for though (as is said) they were formerly sent for *England*, yet now returning againe, graced by the titles of Captaines of the passengers, seeing the Admirall wanting, and great probabilitie of her losse, strengthened themselues with those new companies, so exclaiming against Captaine *Smith*, that they mortally hated him ere ever they saw him. Who vnderstanding by his Scouts the arrivall of such a Fleete, little dreaming of any such supply, supposed them *Spanyards*. But he quickly so determined and ordered our affaires, as we little feared their Arrivall, nor the successe of our incounter: nor were the Salvages any way negligent for the most part, to ayd and assist vs with their best power. Had it so beene we had beene happy; for we would not haue trusted them but as our foes, where receiuing them as our Countreymen

and friends, they did what they could to murther our President, to surprise the Store, the Fort, and our lodgings, to vsurpe the government, and make vs all their servants and slaues, till they could consume vs and our remembrance; and rather indeed to supplant vs then supply vs, as master *William Box* an honest Gentleman in this voyage thus relateth.

In the tayle of a *Hericano* wee were separated from the Admirall, which although it was but the remainder of that Storme, there is seldome any such in *England*, or those Northerne parts of *Europe*. Some lost their Masts, some their Sayles blowne from their Yards; the Seas so over-raking our Ships, much of our prouision was spoyled, our Fleete separated, and our men sicke, and many dyed, and in this miserable estate we arriued in *Virginia*.

But in this Storme,

> When ratling Thunder ran along the Clouds;
> Did not the Saylers poore, and Masters proud
> A terror feele as strucke with feare of God?
> Did not their trembling ioynts then dread his rod?
> Least for foule deeds and black mouth'd blasphemies,
> The rufull time be come that vengeance cryes.

To a thousand mischiefes those lewd Captaines led this lewd company, wherein were many vnruly Gallants, packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies, and those would dispose and determine of the government, sometimes to one, the next day to another; to day the old Commission must rule, to morrow the new, the next day neither, in fine they would rule all, or ruine all: yet in charitie we must endure them thus to destroy vs, or by correcting their follies, haue brought the worlds censure vpon vs to be guiltie of their blouds. Happie had we beene had they never arrived, and we for ever abandoned, and as we were left to our fortunes: for on earth for the number was never more confusion, or misery, then their factions occasioned.

The President seeing the desire those Braues had to rule; seeing how his authoritie was so vnexpectedly changed, would willingly haue left all, and haue returned for *England*. But seeing there was small hope this new Commission would arriue, longer he would not suffer those factious spirits to proceede. It would be too tedious, too strange, and almost incredible; should I particularly relate the infinite dangers, plots, and practices, he daily escaped amongst this factious

crew; the chiefe whereof he quickly layd by the heeles, till his leasure better served to doe them iustice: and to take away all occasions of further mischiefe, Master *Percie*, had his request granted to returne for *England*, being very sicke; and Mr *West* with an hundred and twentie of the best he could chuse, he sent to the Falles; *Martin* with neare as many to *Nandsamund*, with their due proportions of all provisions according to their numbers.

Now the Presidents yeare being neare expired, he made Captaine *Martin* President to follow the order for the election of a President every yeare: but he knowing his owne insufficiency, and the companies vntowardnesse and little regard of him, within three houres after resigned it againe to Captaine *Smith*, and at *Nandsamund* thus proceeded. The people being contributers vsed him kindly; yet such was his iealous feare, in the midst of their mirth, he did surprise this poore naked King, with his Monuments, houses, and the Isle he inhabited, and there fortified himselfe; but so apparantly distracted with feare, as imboldened the Salvages to assault him, kill his men, release their King, gather and carry away a thousand bushels of Corne, he not once offering to intercept them: but sent to the President then at the Falles for thirtie good shot; which from *Iames* Towne immediately was sent him. But he so well imployed them they did iust nothing, but returned complaining of his tendernesse: yet he came away with them to *Iames* Towne, leauing his company to their fortunes.

Here I cannot omit the courage of *George Forrest*, that had seauenteene Arrowes sticking in him, and one shot through him, yet liued sixe or seauen dayes, as if he had small hurt, then for want of Chirugery dyed.

Master *West* hauing seated his men by the Falles, presently returned to reuisit *Iames* Towne: the President followed him to see that company seated; met him by the way, wondering at his so quicke returne; and found his company planted so inconsiderately, in a place not onely subiect to the rivers inundation, but round invironed with many intollerable inconueniences.

For remedie whereof he presently sent to *Powhatan* to sell him the place called *Powhatan*, promising to defend him against the *Monacans*. And these should be his Conditions (with his people) to resigne him the Fort and houses, and all

that Countrey for a proportion of Copper; that all stealing offenders should be sent him, there to receiue their punishment; that every house as a Custome should pay him a Bushell of Corne for an inch square of Copper, and a proportion of *Pocones*, as a yearely tribute to King *Iames* for their protection, as a dutie; what else they could spare to barter at their best discretions.

But both this excellent place and those good Conditions did those furies refuse, contemning both him, his kinde care and authoritie. So much they depended on the Lord Generals new Commission, as they regarded none: the worst they could doe to shew their spights they did; supposing all the *Monacans* Country, gold; and none should come there but whom they pleased. I doe more then wonder to thinke how onely with fiue men, he either durst or would adventure as he did, (knowing how greedie they were of his bloud) to land amongst them, and commit to imprisonment all the Chieftaines of those mutinies, till by their multitudes being an hundred and twentie they forced him to retyre: yet in that interim he surprised one of their Boates, wherewith he returned to their ship; where in deed was their prouision, which also he tooke, and well it chanced he found the Marriners so tractable and constant, or there had beene small possibilitie he had ever escaped. There were divers other of better reason and experience, that from their first landing, hearing the generall good report of his old Souldiers, and seeing with their eyes his actions so well mannaged with discretion, as Captaine *Wood*, Captaine *Webbe*, Cap. *Moone*, Captaine *Fitz Iames*, Master *William Powell*, Master *Partridge*, Master *White*, and divers others, when they perceiued the malice of *Ratliffe* and *Archer*, and their faction, left their companies, and ever rested his faithfull friends. But the worst was that the poore Salvages, that daily brought in their contribution to the President, that disorderly company so tormented those poore soules, by stealing their corne, robbing their gardens, beating them, breaking their houses and keeping some prisoners; that they daily complained to Captaine *Smith*, he had brought them for Protectors, worse enemies then the *Monacans* themselues: which though till then, for his loue they had endured, they desired pardon if hereafter they defended themselues; since he would not correct them, as they had long expected he would. So much they importuned

him to punish their misdemeanors, as they offered (if he would leade them) to fight for him against them. But having spent nine dayes in seeking to reclaime them; shewing them how much they did abuse themselues with these great guilded hopes of the South Sea Mines, commodities, or victories, they so madly conceived; then seeing nothing would prevaile, he set sayle for *Iames* Towne.

Thus oft we see from small greene wounds, and from a little griefe,
A greater sore and sicknesse growes, then will admit reliefe:
For thus themselues they did beguile, and with the rest play'd theefe.

Now no sooner was the Ship vnder sayle, but the Salvages assaulted those hundred and twentie in their Fort, finding some stragling abroad in the woods: they slew many, and so affrighted the rest, as their prisoners escaped, and they safely retyred, with the swords and cloakes of those they had slaine. But ere wee had sayled halfe a league, our ship grounding, gaue vs once more libertie to summon them to a parley; where we found them all so strangely amazed with this poore silly assault of twelue Saluages, that they submitted themselues vpon any tearmes to the Presidents mercy; who presently put by the heeles sixe or seauen of the chiefe offenders: the rest he seated gallantly at *Powhatan*, in that Salvage Fort, readie built, and prettily fortified with poles and barkes of trees, suffiicient to haue defended them from all the Salvages in *Virginia*, dry houses for lodgings and neere two hundred accres of ground ready to be planted, and no place we knew so strong, so pleasant and delightfull in *Virginia* for which we called it *Non-such.* The Salvages also hee presently appeased, redeliuering to either party their former losses. Thus all were friends.

New officers appointed to command, and the President againe ready to depart, at that instant arriued Captaine *West*, whose gentle nature (by the perswasions and compassion of those mutinous prisoners, alledging they had onely done this for his honor) was so much abused, that to regaine their old hopes, new turboyles did arise. For they a-shore being possessed of all there victuall, munition, and euery thing, grew to that height in their former factions, as the President left them to their fortunes: they returned againe to the open ayre at *Wests* Fort, abandoning *Non-such*, and he to *Iames* towne with his best expedition. but this hapned him in that Iourney.

Sleeping in his Boate, (for the ship was returned two daies before) accidentallie, one fired his powder-bag, which tore the flesh from his body and thighes, nine or ten inches square in a most pittifull manner; but to quench the tormenting fire, frying him in his cloaths he leaped over-boord into the deepe river, where ere they could recouer him hee was neare drowned. In this estate without either Chirurgian, or Chirurgery he was to goe neere an hundred myles. Arriving at *Iames* towne, causing all things to be prepared for peace or warres to obtaine prouision, whilest those things were providing, *Ratliffe*, *Archer*, and the rest of their Confederates, being to come to their trials; their guiltie consciences, fearing a iust reward for their deserts, seeing the President vnable to stand, and neere bereft of his senses by reason of his torment, they had plotted to haue murdered him in his bed. But his heart did faile him that should haue giuen fire to that mercilesse Pistoll. So not finding that course to be the best, they ioyned together to vsurpe the government, thereby to escape their punishment. The President had notice of their proiects, the which to withstand, though his old souldiers importuned him but permit them to take their heads that would resist his command, yet he would not suffer them, but sent for the Masters of the ships, and tooke order with them for his returne for England. Seeing there was neither Chirurgian, nor Chirurgery in the Fort to cure his hurt, and the ships to depart the next day, his Commission to be suppressed he knew not why, himselfe and Souldiers to be rewarded he knew not how, and a new commission granted they knew not to whom (the which disabled that authority he had, as made them presume so oft to those mutinies as they did: besides so grievous were his wounds, and so cruell his torments (few expecting he could liue) nor was he able to follow his busines to regaine what they had lost, suppresse those factions, and range the countries for provision as he intended; and well he knew in those affaires his owne actions and presence was as requisite as his directions, which now could not be, he went presently abroad, resoluing there to appoint them governours, and to take orders for the mutiners, but he could finde none hee thought fit for it would accept it. In the meane time, seeing him gone, they perswaded Master *Percy* to stay. who was then to goe for England, and be their President. Within lesse then an houre was this mutation

begun and concluded. For when the Company vnderstood *Smith* would leaue them, and saw the rest in Armes called Presidents and Councellors, diuers began to fawne on those new commanders, that now bent all their wits to get him resigne them his Commission: who after much adoe and many bitter repulses; that their confusion (which he tould them was at their elbowes) should not be attributed to him, for leauing the Colony without a Commission, he was not vnwilling they should steale it, but neuer would he giue it to such as they.

And thus, Strange violent forces drew vs on vnwilling:
Reason perswading 'gainst our loues rebelling.
We saw and knew the better, ah curse accurst!
That notwithstanding we imbrace the worst.

But had that vnhappie blast not hapned, he would quickly haue qualified the heate of those humors, and factions, had the ships but once left them and vs to our fortunes; and haue made that provision from among the Salvages, as we neither feared *Spanyard*, Salvage, nor famine; nor would haue left *Virginia* nor our lawfull authoritie, but at as deare a price as we had bought it, and payd for it. What shall I say but thus, we left him, that in all his proceedings, made Iustice his first guide, and experience his second, even hating basenesse, sloath, pride, and indignitie, more then any dangers; that neuer allowed more for himselfe, then his souldiers with him; that vpon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himselfe; that would never see vs want, what he either had, or could by any meanes get vs; that would rather want then borrow, or starue then not pay; that loued action more then words, and hated falshood and coveteousnesse worse then death; whose adventures were our liues, and whose losse our deaths.

Leaving vs thus with three ships, seaven boats, commodities readie to trade, the harvest newly gathered, ten weekes provision in the store, foure hundred nintie and od persons, twentie-foure Peeces of Ordnance, three hundred Muskets, Snaphances, and Firelockes, Shot, Powder, and Match sufficient, Curats, Pikes, Swords, and Morrios, more then men; the Salvages, their language, and habitations well knowne to an hundred well trayned and expert Souldiers; Nets for fishing; Tooles of all sorts to worke; apparell to supply our

wants; six Mares and a Horse; fiue or sixe hundred Swine; as many Hennes and Chickens; some Goats; some sheepe; what was brought or bred there remained. But they regarding nothing but from hand to mouth, did consume that wee had, tooke care for nothing, but to perfect some colourable complaints against Captaine *Smith*. For effecting whereof three weekes longer they stayed the Ships, till they could produce them. That time and charge might much better haue beene spent, but it suted well with the rest of their discretions.

Besides *James* towne that was strongly Pallizadoed, containing some fiftie or sixtie houses, he left fiue or sixe other severall Forts and Plantations: though they were not so sumptuous as our successors expected, they were better then they provided any for vs. All this time we had but one Carpenter in the Countrey, and three others that could doe little, but desired to be learners: two Blacksmiths; two saylers, and those we write labourers were for most part footmen, and such as they that were Adventurers brought to attend them, or such as they could perswade to goe with them, that neuer did know what a dayes worke was, except the *Dutch*-men and *Poles*, and some dozen other. For all the rest were poore Gentlemen, Tradsmen, Serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoyle a Commonwealth, then either begin one, or but helpe to maintaine one. For when neither the feare of God, nor the law, nor shame, nor displeasure of their friends could rule them here, there is small hope ever to bring one in twentie of them ever to be good there. Notwithstanding, I confesse divers amongst them, had better mindes and grew much more industrious then was expected: yet ten good workemen would haue done more substantiall worke in a day, then ten of them in a weeke. Therefore men may rather wonder how we could doe so much, then vse vs so badly, because we did no more, but leaue those examples to make others beware, and the fruits of all, we know not for whom.

But to see the justice of God vpon these *Dutch*-men; *Valdo* before spoke of, made a shift to get for *England*, where perswading the Merchants what rich Mines he had found, and great service he would doe them, was very well rewarded, and returned with Lord *La Warre:* but being found a meere Impostor, he dyed most miserably. *Adam* and *Francis* his two consorts were fled againe to *Powhatan*, to whom

they promised at the arrivall of my Lord, what wonders they would doe, would he suffer them but to goe to him. But the King seeing they would be gone, replyed: You that would haue betrayed Captaine *Smith* to mee, will certainely betray me to this great Lord for your peace: so caused his men to beat out their braines.

To conclude, the greatest honour that ever belonged to the greatest Monarkes, was the enlarging their Dominions, and erecting Common-weales. Yet howsoever any of them haue attributed to themselues, the Conquerors of the world: there is more of the world never heard of them, then ever any of them all had in subiection: for the *Medes*, *Persians*, and *Assyrians*, never Conquered all *Asia*, nor the *Grecians* but part of *Europe* and *Asia*. The *Romans* indeed had a great part of both, as well as *Affrica:* but as for all the Northerne parts of *Europe* and *Asia*, the interior Southern and Westerne parts of *Affrica*, all *America* and *Terra incognita*, they were all ignorant: nor is our knowledge yet but superficiall. That their beginnings, ending, and limitations were proportioned by the Almightie is most evident: but to consider of what small meanes many of them haue begun is wonderfull. For some write that even *Rome* her selfe, during the Raigne of *Romulus*, exceeded not the number of a thousand houses.—And *Carthage* grew so great a Potentate, that at first was but incirculed in the throngs of a Bulls skinne, as to fight with *Rome* for the Empire of the world. Yea *Venice* at this time the admiration of the earth, was at first but a Marish, inhabited by poore Fishermen. And likewise *Ninivie*, *Thebes*, *Babylon*, *Delus*, *Troy*, *Athens*, *Mycena* and *Sparta*, grew from small beginnings to be most famous States, though now they retaine little more then a naked name. Now this our yong Common-wealth in *Virginia*, as you haue read once consisted but of 38 persons, and in two yeares increased but to 200. yet by this small meanes so highly was approved the Plantation in *Virginia*, as how many Lords, with worthy Knights, and braue Gentlemen pretended to see it, and some did, and now after the expence of fifteene yeares more, and such massie summes of men and money, grow they disanimated? If we truely consider our Proceedings with the *Spanyards*, and the rest, we haue no reason to despayre, for with so small charge, they never had either greater Discoveries, with such certaine tryals of more severall Commodities, then

in this short time hath beene returned from *Virginia*, and by much lesse meanes. *New England* was brought out of obscuritie, and affoorded fraught for neare 200 sayle of ships, where there is now erected a braue Plantation. For the happines of *Summer Isles*, they are no lesse then either, and yet those haue had a far lesse, and a more difficult beginning, then either *Rome*, *Carthage*, or *Venice*.

Written by *Richard Pots*, Clarke of the Councell, *William Tankard*, and *G. P.*

Now seeing there is thus much Paper here to spare, that you should not be altogether cloyed with Prose; such Verses as my worthy Friends bestowed vpon New England, *I here present you, because with honestie I can neither reiect, nor omit their courtesies.*

IN THE DESERUED HONOUR OF THE AUTHOR,

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH AND HIS WORKE.

Damn'd *Envie* is a sp'rite, that ever haunts
Beasts, mis-nam'd Men; Cowards, or ignorants.
But, onely such shee followes, whose deare WORTH
(Maugre her malice) sets their glory forth.
If this faire Ouerture, then, take not; It
Is *Envie's* spight (deare friend) in men of wit;
Or *Feare*, lest morsels, which our mouths possesse,
Might fall from thence; or else, tis *Sottishnesse.*
If either; (I hope neither) thee they raise;
Thy* Letters are as Letters in thy praise;
Who, by their vice *improue* (when they *reprooue*)
Thy vertue; so, in hate, procure thee Loue.
Then, On firme Worth, this Monument I frame;
Scorning for any Smith to *forge* such *fame.*

Iohn Dauies, Heref.

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* *Hinderers.*

TO HIS WORTHY CAPTAINE THE AUTHOR.

That which wee call the subiect of all Storie,
Is Truth: which in this Worke of thine giues glorie
To all that thou hast done. Then scorne the spight
Of *Envie;* which doth no mans Merits right.
My sword may helpe the rest: my Pen no more
Can doe, but this; I'aue said enough before.

Your sometime Souldier, *I. Codrinton*, now Templer.

TO MY WORTHY FRIEND AND COSEN,

CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH.

It over-ioyes my heart, when as thy Words
Of these designes, with deeds I doe compare.
Here is a Booke, such worthy truth affords,
None should the due desert thereof impare:
Sith thou, the man, deseruing of these Ages,
Much paine hast ta'en for this our Kingdomes good,
In Climes vnknowne, 'Mongst *Turkes* and Saluages,
T' inlarge our bounds; though with thy losse of blood.
Hence damn'd Detraction: stand not in our way.
Envie, itselfe, will not the Truth gainesay.

N. Smith.

IN THE DESERVED HONOUR OF MY HONEST AND WORTHY

CAPTAINE, IOHN SMITH, AND HIS WORKE.

Captaine and friend; when I pervse thy Booke
(With *Iudgements* eyes) into thy *heart* I looke:
And there I finde (what sometimes *Albion* knew)
A *Souldier*, to his *Countries-honour*, true.
Some fight for *wealth;* and some for *emptie praise;*
But thou alone thy *Countries Fame* to raise.
With due *discretion*, and *vndaunted heart*,
I (oft) so well haue seene thee act thy Part
In deepest plunge of hard extreamitie,
As forc't the troups of proudest foes to flie.
Though men of greater *Ranke* and lesse *desert*
Would *Pish*-away thy *Praise*, it can not start
From the true *Owner:* for all good mens tongues
Shall keepe the same. To them that Part belongs.
If, then, *Wit*, *Courage*, and *Successe* should get
Thee *Fame;* the Muse for *that* is in thy debt:
A part whereof (least able though I be)
Thus here I doe disburse, to honor *Thee.*

Raleigh Crashaw.

Michaell Phettiplace, *Wil: Phettiplace*, and *Richard Wiffing*, Gentlemen, and Souldiers vnder Captaine *Smiths* command: In his deserued honour for his Worke, and Worth.

WHY may not wee in this Worke haue our Mite,
That had our share in each black day and night,
When thou *Virginia* foild'st, yet kept'st vnstaind;
And held'st the King of *Paspeheh* enchaind.
Thou all alone this *Salvage* sterne didst take.
Pamavnkees King wee saw thee captiue make
Among seauen hundred of his stoutest men,
To murther thee and vs resolved; when
Fast by the hayre thou ledst this Salvage grim,
Thy Pistoll at his breast to governe him:
Which did infuse such awe in all the rest
(Sith their drad Soveraigne thou had'st so distrest)
That thou and wee (poore sixteene) safe retir'd
Vnto our helplesse *Ships* Thou (thus admir'd)
Didst make proud *Powhatan*, his subiects send
To *Iames* his Towne, thy censure to attend:
And all *Virginia's* Lords, and pettie Kings,
Aw'd by thy vertue, crouch, and Presents brings
To gaine thy grace; so dreaded thou hast beene:
And yet a heart more milde is seldome seene;
So, making Valour Vertue, really;
Who hast nought in thee counterfeit, or slie;
If in the sleight be not the truest Art,
That makes men famoused for faire desert.
Who saith of thee, this sauors of vaine-glorie,
Mistakes both thee and vs, and this true Storie.
If it be ill in Thee, so well to doe;
Then, is ill in Vs, to praise thee too.
But, if the first be well done; it is well,
To say it doth (if so it doth) excell.
Praise is the guerdon of each deare desert
Making the practised act the praised part
With more alacritie. *Honours* Spurre is *Praise;*
Without which, it (regardlesse) soone decaies.
And for this paines of thine wee praise thee rather,
That future Times may know who was the father
Of that rare Worke (*New England*) which may bring,
Praise to thy *God*, and profit to thy *King*.

END OF VOL. I.

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